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# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-029  
Tuesday  
16 February 1993

# Daily Report

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## Cameroon

### Government Denies Expulsion of Foreigners

AB1502184593 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in French 1900 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Contrary to the information given by RFI at 1230 GMT today, the Cameroonian Government has not as yet expelled any foreigners because the deadline given to foreigners to regularize their situation is 28 February. The West African nationals who reportedly arrived in Congo left Cameroon on their own even though we fully accept that they had left our country. The secretary of state for internal security reminds everyone that foreigners must acquire their residence card after paying the deposit at the national treasury. Those who have money in commercial banks must have them transferred to the national treasury before 28 February. This clarification comes from Jean Fochive, secretary of state for internal security. In fact, he said that the news of the so-called expulsion of foreigners residing in Cameroon is baseless. Maxime Onana has the details:

After 28 February, all foreign residents who do not have the regular residence papers after paying the deposit at the national treasury will be subject to the 19 August 1990 law on the conditions of entry and residence. The secretary of state for internal security was clear on it; no foreigner, he said, will be expelled from this country before this date. No coercive measures will be taken before 28 February. He said this at a news conference he held on 1 February. Jean Fochive even urged Cameroonians to always remain as hospitable to foreigners as possible.

That said, the conditions for staying in Cameroon after 28 February require the payment of an amount equal to the cost of an economy class air fare from Cameroon to an individual's country of origin and the possession of a residence card with an adhesive stamp worth 60,000 CFA francs pasted on it. The secretary of state for internal security also announced the creation of special counters at the treasury for immigration service. It is possible that some foreigners living in Cameroon will not be able to meet these conditions, therefore, they might decide to voluntarily leave. If this voluntary exodus becomes a reality, it cannot in any way be blamed on the Cameroonian authorities—at least, not before the 28 February deadline. This date has been fixed in accordance with the high-level instructions given by the head of state who, less than two weeks ago, received Senegalese and Nigerian emissaries.

President Paul Biya gave them the assurance that the measures, which seek to normalize the situation of foreigners in Cameroon, will be applied with equity and understanding. The communique issued by the Presidency of the Republic on this occasion reaffirmed Cameroon's commitment to its traditional policy of friendship, brotherliness, cooperation, and kindness with brotherly countries and other partners.

## Central African Republic

### Presidential Elections Set for 18 Apr

LD1602101993 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] In the Central African Republic the dates for the next presidential and legislative elections have now finally been set for 18 April and 2 May. The elections are financed by the Central African Government and also by France, Germany, Japan, Belgium, and the EEC.

I remind you that the first round of the presidential elections, which took place on 25 October last year, was canceled on account of irregularities.

## Rwanda

### President Calls for 'Immediate Resumption' of Talks

AB1402162793 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Paris, Feb 14 (AFP)—Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye called Sunday [14 February] for the "immediate resumption" of peace talks after last week's rebel advance.

In a joint statement issued by the Rwandan embassy here, the two leaders condemned the Rwandan Patriotic Front's [RPF] violation of last August's ceasefire and demanded that the RPF return to the previous frontline.

In three days of fighting early last week, the RPF advanced to within 30 kilometres (20 miles) of Rwanda's capital, Kigali.

The Habyarimana-Nsengiyaremye statement also appealed to the world to grant aid to the "hundreds of thousands of displaced persons" in Rwanda.

The statement added that both men had "re-affirmed" their commitment to the democratisation process, and wanted the talks with the RPF in the Tanzanian town of Arusha to resume immediately.

Last week Nsengiyaremye's party, the Republican Democratic Movement—the leading opposition party, condemned members of Habyarimana's National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development for "the recent massacres" in which members of the majority Hutu tribe had killed people of the minority Tutsi tribe.

The RPF, which draws support from the Tutsi, justified its renewal of hostilities last week by referring to the same inter-tribal killings in which some 300 people reportedly died last month.

"We had to put an end to this ethnic cleansing," said RPF spokesman Frank Mugambajye.

The RPF began its insurrection against Habyarimana, a Hutu general who has ruled the central African state for nearly 20 years, in 1990.

Last August the government and rebels agreed on a cease-fire and to continue

### Prime Minister on Ending Conflict, Role of Officials

*EA1402194093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Text] A week after hostilities resumed between regular forces and rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF], Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye launched a moving call for an end to the fighting and the continuation of peace talks.

In a speech broadcast by our station in the Kinyarwanda language, the head of government calls on the RPF to understand that the root of this war is a political problem and will therefore not be resolved by (fists) and guns. The prime minister said that his government was willing to discuss favorably all political issues relating to the RPF that were submitted to the government delegation in Arusha [northern Tanzania].

He made a strong call on the RPF to respect the cease-fire which it had unilaterally declared this week and pointed out to the RPF, and I quote: Rwandans now wish to live in peace and to respect democratic institutions; they will never again accept dictatorship or the law of weapons.

The prime minister also said that his government was determined that democratic principles would be respected. He indicated that officials who are so unpopular they can no longer enjoy the respect of human rights and cannot maintain the security of the people must be sacked.

Dismas Nsengiyaremye forbids any form of abuse against the population by security forces under the pretext of war. He stressed that in a state of law, war cannot be used as a pretext for hampering democracy and violating human rights. The era of [word indistinct] witch hunts is in the past, end quote.

The prime minister calls on political parties to continue contributing to an awareness of democracy with actions aimed at supporting the peace talks and returning peace to the country. It goes without saying that [passage indistinct] better in meetings, he added, before pointing out that political meetings had to continue in the country, except in prefectures where fighting was taking place. He said that the government reminded everybody of the fact that officials who were incapable of ensuring the security of the people would be punished severely.

Finally, the prime minister said that he was very, very preoccupied with the fate of 600,000 displaced people who had fled from the fighting and were now wandering aimlessly about. The government would do everything to

help these people, he said, and called for emergency aid from the international community.

The prime minister has opted for firmness in his radio broadcast, but it remains to be seen if he has the wherewithal to punish failures and to make them respect human rights and democratic principles. It also remains to be seen if he has enough time, as his mandate will expire in two months. One final question remaining is whether or not his taking a stand will be [word indistinct] and popular [passage indistinct] will not cause a renewed test of strength with the president of the Republic.

As you know, the head of state has discussed, favorably, several times suspending these meetings and letting the local authorities deal with educating the people about their security, negotiations towards a democratic system.

### Foreign Minister Announces Truce

*EA1502225293 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1700 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] In the framework of the search for a solution to the war which has been resumed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF], the Rwandan Government has decided to declare a one-week truce as of midnight 15 February. This was announced by the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, Boniface Ngulinzira. Here is Minister Ngulinzira:

Basing itself on what was announced by the RPF, with particular reference to what the RPF told the U.S. Administration and what it said in its announcement of 10 February on its proposed cease-fire, the Rwandan Government announces the following:

1. The Rwandan Government has decided to stop fighting for one week from midnight [local] this Monday, 15 February, along the entire front-line.
2. The Rwandan Government also asks the RPF to implement its commitment to stop fighting so as to establish an effective cease-fire.
3. The Rwandan Government asks the RPF to make use of the truce to return to positions defined by the group of neutral observers.
4. The Rwandan Government asks the neutral Military Observer Group [MOG] to observe respect for the truce and the return of the RPF to its previous positions.
5. The Rwandan Government reiterates its readiness to hold talks with the RPF on all issues affecting respect for the cease-fire and resumption of the peace negotiations.

### Defense Minister on Resuming Peace Talks, Other Issues

*EA1502215693 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] The Arusha talks, which had been going on for about two weeks, were suspended before the two sides began to deal with a single point on the agenda. They would be resuming very soon at a date to be published by common agreement. This afternoon [14 February] the

Rwandan delegation, led by Defense Minister James Gasana, returned to Kigali. Balthazar Nduwayezu briefs us:

The press communique published in Arusha this morning by the representative of the facilitator indicates that given the recent unfortunate events, which occurred in the Republic of Rwanda and which led to the violation of the cease-fire agreement and the resumption of hostilities, the representative of the facilitator at the Rwandan peace talks, in close cooperation with the OAU secretary general, has since 10th February, been conducting intensive consultations with the Rwandan Government delegation and that of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] who have been gathered in Arusha since 29 January in order to put a rapid end to the military hostilities and create a climate conducive to the smooth running of the peace process and the continuation of negotiations.

These consultations took place following direct calls launched previously and separately on the president of the Republic of Rwanda, the RPF chairman, by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, the president of which is acting as the facilitator in the peace talks, and by the current OAU chairman as well as by the OAU secretary general.

The communique says that during the consultations held with the representative of the facilitator and the OAU secretary general, the two sides reiterated their commitment to the Arusha peace process which constitutes the only means to promote peace and stability in Rwanda and in the sub-region through a negotiated settlement.

In view of the forthcoming 57th session of the OAU Council of Ministers, the two sides decided to resume the negotiations on outstanding issues after the end of that meeting. Meanwhile, the communique adds that the two sides have accepted the invitation addressed to them to hold a meeting at the highest possible level in Dar es Salaam, at the earliest possible date to be jointly agreed on. The meeting will discuss the steps to be taken by the two sides to strengthen the cease-fire agreement and to create an atmosphere conducive to continuing the peace process.

At Kanombe International Airport, the head of the government delegation, James Gasana, was interviewed by the press.

[Begin recording] [unidentified reporter] Paul Kagame [commander in chief of the Rwandan Patriotic Army] this morning on RFI declared that the peace negotiations would resume in Arusha next week. Could you confirm or refute this?

[Gasana] Yes, the Arusha negotiations will resume immediately after the meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers. The representatives of the facilitator and those of some observer countries and organizations will then be available to ensure that the proceedings resume. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The RPF is also demanding the withdrawal of the French troops as a means of promoting the progress of negotiations. What have you to say about that, Mr. Minister?

[Gasana] We told the RPF there are no French troops fighting on the side of our forces. The French troops are in Rwanda, on well-known missions, these being either to provide technical assistance or to protect French citizens and other foreigners. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, the communique issued in Arusha this morning by the representative of the facilitator on the suspension of the proceedings did not specify why the talks had been suspended. What are the exact reasons for the suspension?

[Gasana] The main reason is that the RPF's surprise attack adversely affected the atmosphere prevailing over the talks. Things became very difficult. A certain tension arose between the two delegations for understandable reasons. It was therefore decided to take a break during which the violations of signed agreements could be analyzed, after which the proceedings could be resumed. There is also something else. That is that next week there will be a meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers. This means that neither the representative of the facilitator nor those of most of the observer countries could be available, and so it will only be possible for the talks to resume after the meeting of the council. However, the primary reason, the main reason, is the deterioration of the atmosphere prevailing over the negotiations following the RPF's resumption of the war. At the same time, working conditions had already become unsatisfactory because the RPF had not agreed to start considering what we were supposed to consider, namely the integration of the two armed forces.

[Reporter] The communique says that in the meantime there could be contacts between senior officials of the two sides. We wonder, Mr. Minister, if the people meant are the president of the Republic and the president of the RPF.

[Gasana] Yes, it was made clear that the contact should be at the highest possible level. As far as I can see, that level could fluctuate from ministers to the president of the Republic. The issue will be determined by the competent authorities—in this case by the president of the Republic. He will determine the level at which Rwanda will be represented in those contacts.

[Reporter] In Arusha, the RPF said they wanted to see the president of the Republic, Juvenal Habyarimana, meeting the head of the RPF, Alexis Kanyarengwe. How do you think the head of state will react if they insist on that?

[Gasana] I do not believe that either the RPF or the facilitator will insist, as this is not a matter that necessarily concerns our side. Anyway, according to what I have heard, they will not press the demand. [passage omitted] [end recording]



**President Meets U.S., Belgian Envoys, Discusses RPF***EA1302215193 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Text] The president of the Republic, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, at the Ururwiro village today successively met Mr. Robert Flaten, the U.S. ambassador, and James Swerin, the Belgian ambassador to Rwanda. The head of state and the two heads of diplomatic missions held talks on the political situation in our country.

The U.S. ambassador reiterated the United States' position on the war shaking our country. He deplored the Rwandan Patriotic Front's [RPF] violation of the cease-fire agreement of 12 July 1992.

The Belgian ambassador informed the president of the Republic that his country, through its director general of political affairs at the Belgian Foreign Ministry, had summoned the RPF representatives in Brussels on 9 February to inform them about the condemnation of the RPF by the director general's government for violating the cease-fire. The Belgian Government terms the RPF's attitude as unacceptable and asks the RPF to return to the positions it held on 12 July 1992 when the cease-fire was signed. The Belgian Government also makes a pressing call to the RPF and the Rwandan Government to resume peace negotiations in Arusha and to safeguard the peace process by all means. The Belgian Government, moreover, reiterated its condemnation of the ethnic and political violence which swept some regions of the country in January.

For his part, the president of the Republic thanked his interlocutors for the efforts made by their governments to find a solution to the conflict started by the RPF and for searching for ways and means of reaching a negotiated peace.

**President Meets Head of Observers' Group***EA1302082393 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 12 Feb 93*

[Text] On 11 February Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, the president of the Republic, met Gen. Opaley, the Nigerian who heads the neutral Military Observers' Group in Rwanda, for talks on the resumption of hostilities by the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF]. Gen. Opaley, who met the press at the end of the talks, condemned the cease-fire violation by the rebels [inkotanyi]. He called for the cease-fire to be observed again without further delay, and for the two sides to return to their initial positions so that he could resume his duties. In Gen. Opaley's view, the war would not have been resumed if a neutral corridor between the two warring sides had been established.

It is also noteworthy that one of the members of the [Military Observers'] Group has been wounded in Ruhengeri. In connection with this incident, President

Habyarimana reassured Opaley that the security of the group members would henceforth be reinforced.

**Radio Reports U.S. Government Urges Dialogue***EA1202145093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 11 Feb 93*

[Text] Another reaction is that of the U.S. Administration. With Washington's reaction, here is Gilbert Bamwatawa:

[Begin recording] The U.S. Administration regrets that violence has broken out in Rwanda and calls on the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] leaders, and Rwandan political officials to renew their public and private commitments to dialogue.

The RPF attacks on 8 and 9 February in violation of the cease-fire negotiated on 1 August 1992, are regrettable in particular. These attacks once again resulted in 350,000 people being displaced from their homes; people who, following the war, had already left their property during the last two years, and who will further increase the need for humanitarian aid.

As expressed by our [the U.S.] ambassador and the ambassadors of other donors to the head of state and the prime minister—a statement made public in Kigali—we condemn the ethnic and political violence perpetrated by political activists motivated by political party interests, violence which has caused more than 300 deaths and 4,500 people being rendered homeless.

We appreciate the decision made by the coalition government to take disciplinary measures against officials involved in the violence. We call on the RPF to respect the terms of the cease-fire and we strongly urge the two sides in conflict—the RPF and the Rwandan Government—to resume the Arusha negotiations. Negotiations and dialogue are the only genuine framework for a longlasting solution to the mood of violence which has prevailed in the country over recent decades. [end recording]

**Government-RPF Clashes Continue****70 Rebels Killed in Bwisige***EA1302081093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 12 Feb 93*

[Text] The commander of military operations in Ruhengeri Prefecture said this morning that 70 rebels [inkotanyi] were killed on 10 and 11 February in Bwisige commune [near Byumba] following an attack which they had carried out in certain sectors of the commune.

He added however that fighting was continuing and that the rebels had not stopped shelling the Rwandan Armed Forces' positions, despite their cease-fire declaration. They launched bombs near the town of Byumba and at Nyabishambi where they were chased away by the Rwandan Armed Forces.

In addition to this, reports reaching us speak of the poor living conditions of people taken hostage by the rebels. These civilians were killed or treated in a cruel and inhumane manner.

#### **RPF Renews Attack on Ruhengeri**

*EA1502142093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Excerpt] A team of journalists has visited Ruhengeri [in northern Rwanda] to have a look at the situation. Let us listen to one of them, Ephraim Rugiriza:

The rebel [inkotanyi] fighters who had been dislodged on 10 February from Ruhengeri are trying to attack again. They are unsuccessful because the town remains under the total control of the Rwandan Armed Forces. Mortar shells launched by the Rwandan Patriotic Front sporadically hit Ruhengeri, however, a young state employee, Theophas Namushura, was killed by artillery fire while trying to collect some food supplies at his home.

At the moment civilians remain extremely cautious in Ruhengeri. In Rwaza, there is a general state of panic, and the management of Rwaza secondary school has authorized students to return home. According to local people, during the day the rebels used heavy weapons to fire at Kigarama hill near Rwaza secondary school. [passage omitted]

#### **RPF Activities in North Updated**

*AB1502202593 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It is now a week since the cease-fire in northern Rwanda broke down amid allegations of ethnic massacres in the north. The RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] rebels took on government troops in fierce fighting, wrecking efforts to get the Arusha peace process back on track. An OAU observer group has been trying to monitor the security situation in the north and they have pinned the blame for starting the current round of hostilities on the RPF. Fiona Labalesti has been into rebel territory in Rwanda this weekend and talked to their commander, Paul Kagame. She is now back in Kampala. On the line, Florin Vesta asked her where she had been:

[Begin recording] [Labalesti] Well, obviously, one is always aware of the fighting, there is constant shelling, constant shooting. Obviously, they are not thinking to let you absolutely in the middle of the action, but Saturday [13 February] I did go up to a government defense post which the RPF had taken over a few hours earlier. And we went up. We saw some of the young rebels looking at the arms cache they had just found [and] actually using a lot of ammunition which has been left behind by the government and in particular [changes thought] what was really particularly quite sad, there was one trench which was actually crumbling inside. Apparently, the

government had not had time to bury their dead before they had left the trench and so they had put them in this particular trench and burnt it. By the time we got there, it was still burning and there was still a sick pile of ashes and the bodies were just underneath.

[Vesta] Since this latest outbreak of hostilities, how many casualties have there actually been?

[Labalesti] Well obviously, both sides like to minimize their own loss and maximize the loss of the other side, but there are some specific incidents that one can refer to. When I spoke to the commander of the RPF military wing, he admitted there had been some losses in Ruhengeri town. He said he sent a reconnaissance force into the town last week and he withdrew it on Wednesday [10 February]. He says they suffered about 18 deaths. Of course, the government reports suggest that they suffered many more.

[Vesta] What about the civilian population?

[Labalesti] Well, the civilian population in the area now overtaken by the RPF largely seems to have left. Even there is a displaced persons' camp in southern Biombo at a place called Kisaro, and even the civilian population who had been displaced originally and went to live there now have left that camp and fled elsewhere.

[Vesta] Now, you have spent quite a lot of time with the RPF and amongst others, the RPF commander of the military wing, Mr. Kigani. What kind of mood did he seem to be in? Was he confident?

[Labalesti] Very confident, calm, quite tired, but certainly confident and calm. And he was keen to emphasize to me that this offensive had been for a very specific, limited objective and that was to send a message to the government and he clearly feels that message has now been sent, namely that the government cannot, as they have been in his view, instigate civilian massacres and get away with it with impunity.

[Vesta] Did he talk about the way ahead at all, about the possibility of a cease-fire?

[Labalesti] Yes, I think that was actually the most interesting news of all. He said that the cease-fire offered last week still holds. He said there was some fear about it. He said that there was supposed to be a new cease-fire today and he said that he thought the government has agreed to it but, apparently, it hasn't taken off, there are still shellings.

[Vesta] Now, have you talked to both sides? Do you think it is actually likely that they are going to go into a new cease-fire, I mean, considering that the last negotiation process, the Arusha process, seems to have broken down completely?

[Labalesti] It does seem likely. I think the fighting is going to continue for a little while yet, but I think they will get a new cease-fire. If you listen to the broadcast on Radio Rwanda, the government obviously wants a new



cease-fire and also the RPF has seems keen on it. They feel they have sent their message and I spoke to them today about the conditions that they had originally been demanding. These are the conditions to ensure that massacres do not reoccur in the country and to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to justice. And Commander Kigani's words were that the government's conduct actually appears quite heartening. [end recording]

#### **RPF Chief Wants France Part of 'Solution'**

*AB1402115593 Paris AFP in English 0202 GMT  
14 Feb 93*

[By David Chazan]

[Text] Cyumba Commune, Rebel-held Rwanda, Feb 14 (AFP)—A new rebel onslaught against government forces accused of tribal massacres has added a new chapter to Rwanda's blood-steeped recent history and uprooted half a million people.

The crisis prompted France to double the number of its troops in Rwanda to 300, officially to protect several hundred French residents of the tiny central African state. They reportedly evacuated some 70 expatriates last week from the north-western town of Ruhengeri, a government stronghold near President Juvenal Habyarimana's home region where the army is holding out against rebels who attacked from three sides.

But the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) says French soldiers are fighting alongside government forces. "The French should support the peace process," said RPF military chief Paul Kagame. "Instead of being part of the problem, they should be part of the solution."

RPF guerrillas based near the northern border with Uganda have advanced southwards to within 30 kilometres (20 miles) of Kigali, the closest they have come to the capital in the 28-month bush war that has ruined Rwanda's economy. Their offensive has shaken Habyarimana's grip on his country and stalled talks in Tanzania on the implementation of a ceasefire accord signed seven months ago.

France has condemned the rebels for breaking the cease-fire. But Kagame said the offensive launched last Monday was in retaliation to the massacre of more than 300 Tutsi peasants, the RPF's main support base, allegedly by the army, dominated by the majority Hutu tribe. The RPF has declared a truce and called for new negotiations. But fighting seems to be continuing despite a lull Saturday, and talks have yet to resume.

Government radio says 550,000 people have fled the hostilities, including 350,000 already in displaced people's camps forced to uproot themselves for the second time since the RPF invaded from neighbouring Uganda in October 1990. The rebel invasion prompted accusations that Uganda backed the RPF—a claim denied by both Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Kagame.

Diplomats in the region say Uganda supplies arms to the RPF. But the allegations have never been substantiated.

Kagame, like many of his lieutenants, is a former Ugandan army officer who grew up in a refugee camp. His parents were among hundreds of thousands of Tutsis driven into exile by tribal massacres as the Hutus seized power from the Tutsis, Rwanda's feudal rulers, in the runup to independence from Belgium in 1962. The RPF is fighting for their right to return.

Despite the rebels' closeness to Kigali, they seem unwilling to risk an immediate all-out push to take the capital as the government controls territory further north, behind their advance positions, military analysts said. The rebels may also fear a bloodbath if they attack Kigali, preferring to wage a slow war of attrition while they try to win the hearts and minds of the Rwandan people. The RPF fighters are mainly Tutsis, vastly outnumbered by Hutus, who form 80 percent of Rwanda's 7.5 million people. The RPF says it rejects sectarian politics and wants democracy, not minority rule by the Tutsis. It has won over some Hutus. But many remain suspicious even if they oppose Habyarimana, forced to introduce multi-party politics after the RPF invaded.

Despite the RPF's superficial resemblance to another of Africa's ragtag guerrilla forces, it is a well-disciplined fighting machine. Kagame says he wants to end "ethnic cleansing." Habyarimana agreed to bring the RPF into in a transitional government under last year's accords. But Kagame says that if tribal bloodletting continues he will overthrow Habyarimana by force. "The army's morale is low," Kagame said after claiming to have killed 250 soldiers in ambush last week. "We would prefer a negotiated solution, but we'll do it by force if we have to."

#### **France Reacts to RPF Offensive, Break in Talks**

*EA1202173093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la  
Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 11 Feb 93*

[Text] Paris has reacted to the Rwandan Patriotic Front's [RPF] offensive in northern Rwanda. According to an AFP report, Mr. Daniel Bernard, spokesman of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated, and I quote: The offensive initiated by the RPF since 8 February is, for Paris, a downright violation of the cease-fire reached on 12 July 1992 in line with the Arusha negotiations. unquote.

Mr. Daniel Bernard added that the offensive risked endangering the current peace process. The spokesman of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs furthermore called on the belligerents, namely the government and rebel troops, to return to the positions which they occupied on 8 February, prior to the RPF offensive.

Mr. Daniel Bernard argued that France could not consider the reasons put forward by the RPF as justification

for the resumption of fighting, even though Paris condemned—in Rwanda as elsewhere—all breaches of human rights.

The French official furthermore confirmed that the town of Ruhengeri had been recaptured by government forces. Mr. Daniel Bernard finally said that the foreign nationals evacuated from Ruhengeri had all arrived safe and sound in Kigali.

## Zaire

### Mobutu on Foreign Relations, Opposition

AB1402184193 Paris AFP in English 1833 GMT  
14 Feb 93

[Text] Paris, Feb 14 (AFP)—President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire Sunday [14 February] said he would have already stepped down if only he had been "left alone" to do his work as head of state.

Marshal Mobutu also challenged the Zairian opposition to beat him in elections, in an interview published in the French Sunday newspaper JOURNAL DE DIMANCHE.

"If I had been a gentleman that was left alone, someone who was allowed to do his job as head of state, it would not have taken long, I would have already left," Mobutu said.

Mobutu said he disagreed with opposition claims that Zairians want him to step down. "I challenge them. Let's go to the polls, show the eyes of your friends in Europe, France, the United States and, above all Belgium, that you can beat me."

Addressing a possible freeze of his foreign assets by Washington, Paris and Brussels, Mobutu said that he was not "at war with France, the United States, and against Belgium even less."

"I haven't touched their assets," he said. "Let them go ahead and then we will see."

The Zairian president also challenged the press. He said it was up to journalists "to prove that Mobutu has more than 10 billion dollars abroad. Why make up stories like that? Let them prove it...those that accuse me of having hidden fortunes should prove what they say," he said.

Asked if he was a dictator, he said: "Do you know dictators who introduce democracy in their countries? A dictator, the only Zairian who demands elections at all levels starting with the presidency? Is that what you call a dictator?"

### Chief of Staff Calls For Military Order, Discipline

LD1302220793 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French  
1800 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Excerpts] The restoration of military discipline and the reestablishment of public order is the noble mission to which the new chief of staff of the Armed Forces has committed himself. During an address today after the handover ceremony, Lieutenant General Eluki Monga Aundu called on all soldiers possessing weapons and ammunition to return them immediately to the stores. Let us hear him in the magazine section of this bulletin:

[Begin Eluki recording] [passage omitted] I am sure that with the help of the general and field officers and all the soldiers of the Zairian Armed Forces [FAZ], we will try to do everything possible to ensure that the supreme commander of our Armed Forces, who embodies the nation and who is the symbol of national unity, we will do everything possible to be able to satisfy him and thus satisfy the country as a whole.

Of course the FAZ has just gone through a very difficult period, with lootings, thefts, rapes, and killings. This is unfortunate and unacceptable. The supreme commander of our Armed Forces recently gathered the high command together in Gbadolite. He gave directives and this morning, after the handover of power with my brother Gen. Mahele Liyeko Bokungu, I called together the same general and field officers, including the high command, and those in command of the large units of the Kinshasa garrison. We held a meeting, a continuation of the Gbadolite meeting, which lasted an hour and a half. We took practical steps to restore discipline and reestablish public order. [passage omitted]

We regret everything that has happened. We hope that the Zairian soldier, who was unfortunately misled by our civilian brothers, especially politicians, will regain his self-control, knowing that the supreme commander of our Armed Forces, I myself, the field officers, and the junior officers will do everything possible to guarantee a social life that befits our soldiers.

The country is going through a difficult period. The soldier, who lives in the country, faces the same problems. The social problems affecting the civilians affect the soldier too. Since we soldiers come from the people, we work for the people; we must do everything possible to see that this people can be granted safety.

That is the main mission that the supreme commander has given us. That is what we stressed this morning, and thus we will be very severe with soldiers who have committed excesses. The (?audience) was made aware of this, and received precise orders so that as of next week we can take action against these soldiers who have dishonored the uniform of our Armed Forces.

All soldiers must realize that from now on the arms and ammunition they have in their homes must be returned to storehouses immediately. From next week, checks will

be carried out so that soldiers can realize that the interior service [as heard] must be rigorously applied.

We also gave precise instructions to the commanders of the large units to the effect that retired soldiers, widows, orphans, and children over 18 years old should quickly leave the camps. All measures will be taken to empty the camps and enable the soldiers living in the city [in central Kinshasa] to go back to camp. In this way, control will be easier and military life will be easier and more secure. At the same time so will civilians, the soldiers themselves, and especially the foreign civilian population, which we need. [sentence as heard]

I ask our brothers and sisters who are politicians to know that the soldier is apolitical and not to lose sight of that. We are apolitical, and we are eager that the propaganda which caused desolation in the town of Kinshasa, and in the large towns up-country—I could mention Kisangani, Lubumbashi, Kolwezi, Mbandaka, Beni, and Goma—let all this disappear. The propaganda that was spread as a way to influence the troops must end. Politicians must desist from contacting the troops to brainwash them about problems which are their own concern. The soldier is at the service of the nation, for the security of the Zairian people. Desist from contacting them to brainwash them.

An army of the people, an army for the status quo—there is no such thing. We have one single army, at the service of the Zairian people. Politicians, reach an agreement. Sit down around a table; negotiate between yourselves; discuss among yourselves. Desist from involving the troops in your problems. [end recording]

#### UN Secretary General Shows Concern Over Conflict

EA1202174593 Mbuji-Mayi Voix du Zaire in French  
1630 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] On the political and social conflict in Zaire, the UN secretary general, Mr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali, has expressed his concern over the (?state) of the political and social conflict prevailing in Zaire which has led to the deaths of hundreds of people and has forced others flee to neighboring countries. The UN secretary general calls upon the government and the leaders of all parties involved in the transitional process to exercise moderation and immediately start discussions so as to peacefully find solutions to their problems. The UN secretary general stresses that it is only through negotiations that rapid democratization of the political process may be realized if bloodshed is to be avoided and a return of peace [words indistinct].



## Djibouti

### National Assembly Chairman Dies

EA1202173793 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali 1700 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Excerpt] The Republic of Djibouti is in the second day of national mourning following the death of the chairman of the National Assembly, Abdulkadir Waberi Askar. [passage omitted]

## Kenya

### President Moi on Tribal Equality, Justice

EA1302202793 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said all tribes in Kenya were equal and no particular ethnic group should assume it is superior to the others. The president further said he believed in justice for all Kenyans irrespective of their creed, color or ethnicity. President Moi pointed out that the ruling party, KANU [Kenya African National Union], has since stood for independence, peace, love and unity of all Kenyans and never condones tribalism. He called on all Kenyans to jealously safeguard the unity attained so far, adding it was only through unity that a young nation like Kenya could forge ahead. The president noted that it was through the same unity that Kenya could reject senseless destruction of human life and property which has hit countries in Europe that had long established themselves. The president observed that tribalism was more cancerous than racism as it undermines the very foundations of any nation. He therefore made it clear that unless Kenyans worked together as a united people, the nation would not progress. President Moi was addressing a mammoth public rally at Bomet [Rift Valley Province] sports ground in Bomet district during his second day tour of Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces.

The president said it was unfortunate that some people kept on blaming the Kalenjin community for instigating clashes in the Rift Valley, adding that the truth was that the clashes were politically perpetrated. He said in Uasin Gishu [district] already one of the instigators, a man by the name of David Mwangi of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Asili, has been apprehended for instigating the clashes in the area. [passage omitted]

### Ambassador Smith Hempstone's Departure Viewed

EA1402145993 Nairobi SUNDAY TIMES in English 14 Feb 93 p 4

["Inside Politics With Mwangi Githahu—At A Glance—At Last, Farewell to Mr Hempstone"—SUNDAY TIMES headlines]

[Text] At last confirmation that Mr Smith Hempstone, the United States ambassador to Kenya for the last three

and a bit years, is finally going home where he came from (and some might add, where he belongs). KANU [Kenya African National Union] politicians will be breathing sighs of relief all over the place, but some opposition politicians may find themselves a bit dewey-eyed at the thought. However, the satirists will find themselves a little stuck because now they will have nobody to make fun of and lampoon. Opposition supporters will have no "godfather" figure to look to for support and assurance and matatu [minibus] touts may have to find a new name for the illegal stop outside the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, because with Smith Hempstone gone it won't be Kwa-hempstone [Hempstone's stop] any more. But before Hempstone's enemies start celebrating, here is something to think about, his replacement could be twice as bad.

## Somalia

### Committee Meets To Prepare Reconciliation Conference

EA1502142193 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali 1045 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] The technical committee entrusted with the responsibilities of preparing the agenda for the reconciliation conference of the Somalis, which is expected to begin on the 15th March in Addis Ababa, held its first meeting in Mogadishu today.

The meeting, which discussed the enforcement of the cease-fire and participants to the forthcoming national reconciliation conference to take place in March, got off the ground after repeated efforts by the UN special envoy to Somalia and U.S. Ambassador to Somalia, Mr. Robert Oakley.

Fruitful results are expected from today's meeting to help cement the current conflicting views held by the various warring factions.

### Minister Previews 'Next Stop' on 'Peace Train'

NC1202102393 Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic 0610 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Telephone interview with Sheikh Ismail Abdulle, Somali minister of state for foreign affairs, in Riyadh, by Shihatah Abu-al-Majd, in Cairo, on the "Dialogue From Afar" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Abu-al-Majd] Mr. Minister, welcome to the Voice of the Arabs.

[Abdulle] Thank you.

[Abu-al-Majd] Even as we speak, all eyes are turned to Addis Ababa, where the national Somali reconciliation conference is scheduled to be held 15 March. What can

you tell us about this conference? We know that a committee of various Somali factions is preparing for it.

[Abdulle] Addis Ababa is the next stop on the Somali peace train. A seven-party committee is meeting in Mogadishu to ensure the success of this conference. We are pinning great hopes on this conference to end the tragedy and ensure the safety and stability of Somalia.

[Abu-al-Majd] What do you think are the bases for the upcoming reconciliation?

[Abdulle] First, we want all parties to adopt some simple principles. We want them to observe a cease-fire, stop all violence, and renounce the use of force to solve problems. Second, we want all groups to move toward peace and accept an accord. All groups should abide by the resolutions adopted at the Addis Ababa conference. Above all, we want the conference to lay the foundations for the new national authority in Somalia.

[Abu-al-Majd] You said all parties should move toward peace and abide by the resolutions adopted at this conference. Are you prepared to surrender your own weapons to avoid violence and achieve peace?

[Abdulle] We have been calling for this conference and avoiding violence for a long time. As we announced earlier, we will be the first to surrender our arms and remove heavy weapons from our men to serve as a model for the others.

[Abu-al-Majd] Does this mean you will retain small arms?

[Abdulle] Small arms have not been a major problem in Somalia. However, if peace, and the accord, dictate surrendering small arms, it will be easy for us to do so.

[Abu-al-Majd] Through your discussions on the seven-party committee, do you sense the other factions are ready to do the same?

[Abdulle] All parties are sincerely willing to achieve peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. To be realistic and honest, some parties are still reluctant to surrender their weapons to the international forces.

[Abu-al-Majd] Which groups are you talking about?

[Abdulle] I prefer not to mention names in the current climate of reconciliation.

[Abu-al-Majd] There are rumors that Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid's forces are not giving up their weapons. Is this true?

[Abdulle] I think Gen. Aidid and the others who are reluctant to join this trend will eventually yield to the desire of the majority.

[Abu-al-Majd] Have you asked the international forces in Somalia to pressure those unwilling to surrender their heavy weapons?

[Abdulle] We have unequivocally asked the international forces to launch a tougher campaign to collect weapons from all sides, without exception, including ourselves.

[Abu-al-Majd] If it turns out that the interim government should leave power in the interest of national reconciliation, are you ready to do it?

[Abdulle] We are not interested in the glamour of power. As soon as the new interim government is formed, we will be ready to hand power over to the legitimately elected government.

[Abu-al-Majd] Do you think it is wise to transfer the command of the troops from the United States to the United Nations?

[Abdulle] The transfer is a formality that will not change the basic situation. We welcome the international forces in both cases—whether under U.S. or UN command.

[Abu-al-Majd] The international forces entered Somalia under the slogan of restoring hope for the Somali people. Has this been achieved?

[Abdulle] They have helped in distributing humanitarian aid to the needy. They have prevented robbery and looting by armed gangs. There has also been tangible progress in area of security.

[Abu-al-Majd] As part of the interim government in Somalia, what do you think the international forces in Somalia should do until the reconciliation conference is held?

[Abdulle] We want these forces to remain for at least six more months to help us form a police force, to collect arms, and to support the new legitimate authority formed after the Addis Ababa reconciliation conference.

[Abu-al-Majd] If you assume power after the conference, when will you ask the foreign forces to leave Somalia?

[Abdulle] After they complete their tasks, we will ask them to leave, God willing.

[Abu-al-Majd] What are these tasks?

[Abdulle] Saving the Somali people from the tyranny of the armed gangs, distributing humanitarian aid, rebuilding the administrative structure, and creating social institutions in the country. The international forces are also necessary to help us form a police force and to establish security.

[Abu-al-Majd] What, specifically, do you want the Arab world to do?

[Abdulle] First, we want the Arab world to step up their efforts to bring the viewpoints of the various parties in Somalia together. This will help the reconciliation conference to be held in an optimistic atmosphere. We also want the Arab world to help with aid to the Somali people, to help the Somalis out of the abyss they have fallen into. Third, we want the Arab world to help us



rebuild Somalia economically, politically, and socially, to allocate funds to restore the country's infrastructure.

[Abu-al-Majd] Thank you, Mr. Minister.

[Abdulle] Thank you.

**Commander 'Fairly Optimistic' for Restore Hope**  
*PM1502152193 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 9 Feb 93 p 14*

[Interview with General Giampiero Rossi, commander in chief of Italian forces in Somalia, by unidentified reporter "in Mogadishu last week"]

[Text] Rome—"The real problem is the huge number of gangs which are out of control. To some extent we have thrown them out of Mogadishu for about a 20-km radius. However, they are on the move. Some we manage to track using helicopters, airplanes, and U.S. satellites. They seem to be returning to the territories they come from. Others, who are still in hiding in the surrounding areas, reenter the capital at night. And by day it is difficult to find them in the endless scrubland." That is how Gen. Giampiero Rossi, commander of 2,500 Italian soldiers engaged in reestablishing an embryo of peace in territory the size of the Lazio region, described the adversary to us last week. A few days earlier his men had severely wounded two robbers. A few days later, last Sunday [7 February] another two Somali bandits became the first enemies to be killed by the Italian military since 1945. Faced with a treacherous and chaotic situation, Rossi remains officially optimistic. In Mogadishu he told us: "Those robber gangs are probably self-survival gangs motivated by hunger; they will dissolve as soon as the economy gets going again. They will then no longer have any need to raid."

On the other hand, the economy, agriculture, and trade will not be able to function for as long as the internal roads are still infested with robber gangs. How can Operation Restore Hope ever succeed in breaking this vicious circle?

[Rossi] A district police force is being reconstituted, and sometimes even courts of law, as well as self-defense militias, in order to defeat the sporadic banditry. We ourselves have authorized certain inhabitants of one township, who were pointed out to us by the council of elders, to carry arms. But we ought to expand and legalize these militias, and possibly pay them with food-stuffs, in keeping with the "food for work" formula.

[LA REPUBBLICA] The fact remains that it is apparently impossible to disarm the myriad armed clans.

[Rossi] The quantity of arms in circulation is enormous. We are realizing this from the arsenals we are discovering here in Mogadishu. We should not forget, however, that the Multinational Force is now able to guarantee a certain security, albeit only relative of course, over quite a wide area (about a 350-km radius around Mogadishu). And the main militias have "frozen" their heavy artillery, stockpiling it all in places we know of and assuring us they will not use it.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Those tribes will probably keep the peace for as long as the 24,000 U.S. marines stay in Somalia. But soon a UN "peace force" is to replace them, a Tower of Babel made up of 40 nations. Will Operation Restore Hope not begin to collapse on that day?

[Rossi] The replacement operation will undoubtedly be complex. It would be better if that "peace force" were to set itself up in the command centers of the most numerous contingents currently in Somalia (the U.S., Italian, French, Canadian, and Belgian contingents). But anyhow, it can be achieved. Even in two months if the situation goes on improving.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Not a lot of improvement has been seen lately. And no peace between the tribes is in sight.

[Rossi] What was the situation like when we arrived? There was shooting in the streets night and day. There was not one car belonging to the humanitarian organizations that did not come under attack. The streets were empty. I still remember the scene in Jalalaqsi: That child licking a journalist's hand in an effort to get at the crumbs of a cookie. Now the camels, the goats, and the cattle, which seemed to have disappeared, have reappeared. In the Jubba Valley people are starting to farm the land again. And a few days ago in Jalalaqsi the market was functioning again; there were even textiles. Why should I not be fairly optimistic?

**French Defense Minister Confirms Withdrawal of Troops**

*LD1502231293 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 2200 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] Defense Minister Pierre Joxe is now in Somalia. He spent the day at Hoddur, with the French soldiers involved in Operation Restore Hope. The defense minister confirmed the progressive withdrawal of French forces. They will be reduced from 2,500 to around 1,000 by the end of April.

**Government, ANC Reportedly Make 'Breakthrough'***MB1302093793 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0856 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[By political correspondent Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town February 12 SAPA—In a major constitutional breakthrough this week the government and the ANC [African National Congress] agreed that the issue of regional government would be finally decided by an elected Constitution Making Body (CMB). They had also agreed to share power in a transitional government which could last from nine months to five years.

These were some of a number of major modifications to positions held by the government prior to a round of bilateral talks from which the ANC has emerged an apparent victor.

They were revealed in two media conferences called by the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the deputy minister of constitutional development, Mr Fanie Schoeman, on Friday. Both sides said the common ground achieved would move the process ahead rapidly.

On the question of powersharing Mr Schoeman said there was an agreement that an elected government of national unity would rule for five years. The government and the ANC would co-govern for five years while trying to argue the case for permanent powersharing in a new constitution at the CMB.

The ANC however disagreed that there was an agreement on a five year government of national unity. Mr Thabo Mbeki, senior NEC [National Executive Committee] member and international affairs director, said nine months was the only time agreed to although circumstances could induce the CMB/parliament to change that.

The government also appears to have retreated somewhat from its insistence on a fully-fledged interim constitution as the basis for transition to democracy. It is looking at options satisfying more limited and basic constitutional needs to tide over a transitional government-cum-CMB.

The minister of local government, Dr Tertius Delpont, the government's chief advocate for fixing the powers, duties and functions of regional governments before elections confirmed the new agreement. "Yes, its true," he told SAPA. "But it is not the whole truth."

These shifts represent major departures from formerly firm positions.

"The ANC has won this round," commented Stellenbosch political economist Professor Sampie Terreblanche. The departure from the strong regionalism base would possibly infuriate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, he said.

At their media conferences both sides stressed that the agreements between the negotiators were still subject to ratification by their principals—the ANC's NEC and the cabinet.

Mr Schoeman underlined the informal nature of the agreements and said they were not in the same mould as agreements reached at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] or in the Record of Understanding.

Mr Schoeman described the talks as having made, "substantial progress in talking about the real issues that divide us". There had been a "strong gap" between them on some issues. "We have tackled them and explored them to find ways and means to move closer to each other.... We have moved closer to each other," he concluded.

The proposal on the table about regions was that a commission now investigate their boundaries, powers, functions and necessary structures. This would form the basis of electing regional representatives to the CMB who would have a special role in deciding matters which affected regions.

The CMB would be bound by principles, and these principles would include parameters for: regional structures, he said.

However, while there had been agreement with the ANC on regional matters being decided finally by the CMB, there was as yet no agreement on the constitutional principles that applied. "We have a complete set but these are not finalised," he said. "The ANC is accepting regional government but not every fine detail."

Regarding powersharing, he said there was agreement that after the first election for a CMB and interim parliament, and a new constitution, there would be a second election only in five years.

"It is not a possibility, it is a fact," he said.

It could be longer or shorter, he conceded, but it was an agreement shared with the ANC and would be the position both would hold at a multi-party conference, unless one of the other parties could convince them otherwise.

Asked if the Codesa principle of "sufficient consensus" was to be applied in reaching such a decision in a new forum, he said the matter had not been raised with the ANC.

At the ANC media conference Mr Ramaphosa said: "Concerning the boundaries, powers and functions of regions, it was agreed that decisions in this regard would be taken by the elected constitution making body. Proposals and details in this regard are also being taken to principals."

As far as powersharing was concerned, ANC spokesmen said the primary aim was to move to full democracy at

the earliest possible moment. It was therefore not possible to go into an agreement to share power in a government of national unity beyond the nine months which was current ANC policy.

In his prepared statement, and in answering questions from the media afterwards, Mr Ramaphosa referred to several points on which he said the negotiators themselves had reached agreement.

The ANC would have to take these proposals—often options—back to its NEC for ratification while the NP [National Party] negotiators presumably had to refer theirs to the cabinet. "We expect the South African Government to respond with proposals in keeping with the constitutional proposals we have made," he said. If so, there would be rapid progress and peaceful solutions were within reach.

Among issues he identified were:

- suggestions for legislation for the transitional executive council which would be finalised in due course, including details on sub-council for law and order, defence, foreign affairs, finance and regional and local government.
- an agreement that an independent electoral commission would run elections.
- appointment of an independent media commission.
- an agreed process to appoint a new SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] board on the basis of consultation with a wide range of forces initiated by Mr Justice Mohammed and Mr Justice Schabbert.

#### More Details on Agreement

MB1302110693 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0957 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town Feb 13 SAPA—The African National Congress's [ANC] National Executive Committee [NEC] is expected to ratify a five-year powersharing deal with the government when it meets in Johannesburg next week. The NEC would furthermore endorse an agreement with the government that a Constitution-Making Body (CMB) pass all its decisions by a two-thirds majority, top ANC negotiator, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said on Saturday. The NEC would also consider giving the green light to the lifting of crippling financial sanctions, possibly as early as April or May.

The most significant and drastic shift, according to a political analyst at Stellenbosch university, is that the National Party [NP] government has now admitted that after 1999 it has no other political role than being the opposition.

Senior ANC and government negotiating sources at the weekend confirmed that an amazing array of agreements, reflecting extensive shifts particularly in government negotiating positions, stand to be ratified by the nec and the national party cabinet.

After the government's admission on Friday that it had accepted an elected constitution-making body's right to decide the boundaries, functions and duties of regions and that it had accepted a verbal deal to share power with the ANC for five years after the first open elections, Mr Moosa told SAPA it had also accepted that all CMB decisions would require only a two-thirds majority.

This is a direct negation of the crunch battle over voting percentages which destroyed Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II in May 1992. The government then held out for a 75 per cent majority on what it considered sensitive issues, particularly regional powers, while the ANC offered a maximum of 70 per cent.

Another central position abandoned by the government was its insistence that Codesa-style talks draw up a comprehensive interim constitution on which an elected CMB legislature would function.

It has now agreed to a skeleton constitution to underpin a short-lived transitional period during which a new constitution will be born. The shift is aimed at cutting masses of debating time from the timeframes for multi-party agreement needed for arriving at the first open elections by the first quarter of 1994.

Stellenbosch University's political commentator, Prof Sampie Terreblanche, said the government had this week "progressed down the slippery slope of inevitability. I wonder whether the general public realises just how drastic these shifts are."

He welcomed the voluntary coalition or powersharing the government had agreed to. "It will put tremendous pressure on the government to behave in order to be invited into a powersharing executive. It ensures that the NP cannot go into an election and play hardball simply because the constitution entrenches its place in government."

He had great fears however for the spoiler role which Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could now be tempted to play.

Apart from Mr Moosa's revelation that the government had conceded to a 66 per cent majority decision in the CMB, other ANC sources revealed yet another shock. The powersharing option being offered the NP was not based on current cabinet procedures where consensus is the basis of decisionmaking. "We will retain the majority principle in the executive or we will have stalemate in government," a senior NEC member said.

The same source confirmed that the ANC too had made a concession, or would shortly, in addressing the matter of sanctions, particularly those which were of material



importance as opposed to the "psychological" sanctions which included the international oil and arms embargo.

This was confirmed by other NEC sources who echoed ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa's positive response to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call on Friday for a revision of sanctions. Mr Ramaphosa told a media conference the matter would come up for discussion at the regular NEC three-day meeting next week. He said a firm decision would be taken as the matter had now become pertinent and urgent.

Some NEC members went further and said firm proposals to lift institutional sanctions would be put to the NEC. These would be conditionally tied to what one called "the evenness of negotiations" or some fail-safe formula that would ensure that the lifting of sanctions was linked to the clear irreversibility of the democracy process.

The marker for this would be the establishment of the transitional executive council around which there was no finality yet.

The firm demand of the August 1987 Harare declaration, that sanctions be lifted only once there was a majority government in place, would be moderated to the "promise of majority government" plus "effective control" over key government functions and institutions such as the public media and the security forces.

#### ANC Comments on Power Sharing

MB1402100593 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0936 GMT 14 Feb 93

[By political correspondent Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Feb 14 SAPA—The concept of sharing power among parties after the drafting of a new constitution was being considered, but no finality on its duration or the precise mechanism had been decided, ANC [African National Congress] spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said on Sunday.

He denied, however, that there was any form of "deal" between the ANC and the government on this. The matter was in any case subject to multi-party agreement.

"The negotiating teams (which met in Cape Town for three days last week) have no authority to take decisions of this nature. At most, we can take certain options back to our principals which will then determine policy."

Mr Niehaus was reacting to an exchange of claims, denials and counter-denials over what the deputy minister of constitutional development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, described on Friday as an agreement with the ANC to share power until 1999. He described the agreement as a "fact".

On Saturday night, the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, denied there was any deal to share power after writing a new constitution.

The ANC National Executive Committee would this week consider a proposal for a government of national unity extending for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution. Such a government of national unity was not power-sharing.

On hearing this, Mr Schoeman said a government of national unity was power-sharing. If it was by voluntary invitation by the majority party, such an interim government of national unity was unacceptable and there was no option but to return to the negotiating table.

Mr Schoeman's first statement came at a media conference hastily called to react to an earlier ANC claim that there was agreement the boundaries, duties and functions of regions would be finally decided by an elected Constitution Making Body (CMB), a major departure from previously-held government positions.

Mr Niehaus said on Sunday Mr Schoeman had no right to refer to proposals such as these as if there was firm agreement. The ANC had made it clear the agreement on regions was still to be referred to principals.

"What was discussed on power-sharing were guidelines and ideas which we shared around a government of national unity. To discuss time frames and formulate specific mechanisms is pure speculation at this stage. Yes, we are discussing a government of national unity after the drafting of a new constitution, but these are merely ideas and not part of a deal which can be forced down the throats of smaller parties.

"Mr Schoeman should have realised what the reaction of other parties would be to such a proposal before the final word has been spoken at a multi-party conference. "We have left the time duration open-ended....We have left the question of the mechanism open. To call it a 'fact' is simply not true. The result is we have no option but to repudiate such a position."

It flew directly in the face of their joint public position that bilateral decisions could not bind other parties in a multi-party forum.

Asked about the ANC going public on the agreement on regions, Mr Niehaus said he did not believe it was such a major concession by the government. It was merely recognition of the CMB's right to make a final decision, but these would be cast within the parameters of constitutional principles to be agreed on.

#### Mandela Rejects Power Sharing

MB1402133593 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1127 GMT 14 Feb 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress, ANC: Address by ANC President Nelson Mandela in Sandton on 13 Feb]

[Text] Assalaam ualaikum, namiste and good evening.

We are gathered here today at a time when South Africa is at the threshold of some of the most momentous political changes.

I am advised that this gathering tonight represents some of the most senior business and community leaders of the Indian community throughout the Transvaal. I am honoured to be a part of it and I thank you for this opportunity. This is a most important meeting for the ANC. This is the first opportunity that we have had to address you.

As part of the black majority in this country, you have hitherto been subjected to the worst forms of discrimination possible. As part of the black business community in this country, you were further confronted with measures specifically designed to prevent you from equally competing with white business. You were forcefully removed from your places of residence and business, subjected to group areas, denied the right to trade where you wanted and in what you wanted and denied the right of access to training in skills and capital that would have allowed you to develop further.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these impediments you have shown the necessary ingenuity and creativeness that has ensured that you are successful in doing what you do best—serving our communities with the necessary goods and services required. The skills that you have gained are invaluable to our country.

In this year of the Gandhi centenary we can proudly declare to our people and the world at large that our history of struggle, in which the Indian community played no small part, is bearing fruit. The strength that we gained from years of resistance to apartheid enabled the ANC to take the initiative and force the np regime to the negotiating table.

At this auspicious occasion, I am obliged to give a report of the developments in the negotiations process. However, it is also important for me to place before you the ANC vision of a new South Africa and the role of the Indian community.

#### **The negotiations process**

Firstly, let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts agreed to with the government. These rumours are devoid of any truth and mischievous in the extreme.

I furthermore wish to categorically deny the statement made in the press that the ANC has agreed to power sharing until the year 1999. An interim government of national unity is not power sharing. What the government has proposed is a form of power sharing. The ANC, on the other hand, proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that

have won a certain proportion of the seats in the constituent assembly. This proposal is designed to create national unity and is not a simple power sharing formula.

The government's proposal merely reflects their struggle for survival, and therefore their self-interest. The ANC's proposal, however, clearly shows the priority we have given to national interests above that of our own.

1. The vision of the ANC for the immediate future is as follows:

Firstly, we would like to see an early resumption of multilateral negotiations. In this phase we aim to secure: an agreement on free and fair elections, an interim government of national unity and a sovereign constituent assembly; to stop all unilateral restructuring; broaden the space for free political activity; and address the issues of violence.

Secondly, we must secure the establishment of the transitional executive council. In this phase we should aim to: consolidate peace through joint control over all armed formations; ensure free and fair elections; and mobilise for a decisive victory in the elections.

Thirdly, this would allow us to enter the period of the drafting and adoption of the new constitution by the constituent assembly. It is during this phase that we aim to establish the interim government of national unity, adopt a new constitution and start addressing the socioeconomic problems facing our country.

Fourthly, once a new constitution has been adopted, we would have to restructure the present state machinery with a view to dismantling the system of apartheid.

Fifthly, we would then enter a period of the consolidation of the process of democratic transformation and reconstruction. 2. Report on the negotiations process:

The objective of the ANC in the present phase of negotiations is to ensure that this country moves as swiftly as possible towards the election of an interim government of national unity and a constituent assembly that would be charged with the responsibility of drafting and adopting a democratic constitution. The unacceptable levels of violence, crime and the deteriorating economy demand that this be so.

Over the last few days our negotiators have been locked in intense bilateral discussions with the regime. The ANC delegation was led by our secretary general, Cyril ramaphosa; Roelf Meyer, the NP [National Party] minister of constitutional development, led the government delegation.

The meeting covered discussions on constitutional questions as well as preparations for the resumption of multi-party negotiations. The meeting reaffirmed agreement on an elected constitution making body that would draft and adopt the new constitution. Agreement was also reached that elections for this body would take place as early as possible.



To ensure free and fair elections the following issues were discussed:

Various suggestions relating to various aspects of the legislation establishing Transitional Executive Council [TEC] were made. These are still to be discussed further and will be finalised in due course. In this regard, the ANC provided the government with concrete proposals on the powers and functions of the TEC, and in particular, its sub councils for law and order and defence. The government undertook to come back to the ANC on these issues.

Agreement was reached that an independent electoral commission would run the elections. In this regard we have also proposed, and it has been accepted, that international observers and experts would also be involved in the process. Furthermore, an independent media commission would be appointed. These commissions would play a crucial role in leveling the playing field. These agreements are in line with the ANC's stated positions that both the media and the elections must be free of party political bias or orientation.

On the appointment of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] board, it was agreed that a transparent process should be set in motion. After consultation with a wide range of forces including the campaign of independent broadcasting, the ANC has proposed that Justice Ismail Mohammed and Piet Schabbert should be appointed to initiate this process. The government has promised to come back to the ANC on this issue early next week.

At the meeting, the government also raised the question of a possible government of national unity extending for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution. The matter is to be placed before the National Executive Committee for discussion.

Concerning the boundaries, powers and functions of regions, it was agreed that decisions in this regard would only be taken by the elected constitution making body.

Finally, it was agreed that a multi-party planning conference, that would prepare the way for the resumption of multilateral negotiations would be held during the course of this month. If the government responds positively to the concrete proposals which the ANC placed on the table, the realisation of a peaceful and democratic order is within our reach.

What has become accepted is that the ANC has placed for discussions proposals which are eminently reasonable and which take into account the concerns and fears of the various communities in our country.

Nevertheless, like in so many other countries, the process of transition and political transformation brings with it some measures of uncertainty and perhaps even a sense of insecurity. South Africa is no different and the Indian community here is no exception. All of this together with the unabating violence, increasing crime

and deteriorating economy, not to mention the revelation of one scandal after another involving government, has given rise to a whole host of fears and concerns which are legitimate and understandable.

Whilst you have the right to choose which political party or organisation would best serve your interests, there is little choice as to how to deal with and confront all those fears and concerns. It is against this background that I make the following call to you:

As a community and population group, you have a proud tradition and history of resistance against injustice and the struggle for democracy. Maintain this and strengthen it.

There are only two key political role players in this country. The ANC and the NP. The National Party, on the one hand, has a history of discrimination, oppression, exploitation. It is also so arrogant that it continues to believe it knows what is best for your community. That is why it will refuse to consult you on developments in this country. On the other hand, it is only the African National Congress that has consistently consulted all communities on all major issues. This is even true of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] in 1960. Then, the Indian congresses were consulted before the decision was taken.

The forthcoming election will be the first time that all South Africans would vote as equals. Above all it would be no ordinary election. It would be an election of delegates of whom the people would entrust to draft and adopt a new democratic constitution for unified South Africa. In this way we would get a constitution that would give expression to the aspirations of all our peoples whatever their colour, class or creed. It is in this constitution where we could best ensure the protection of religious, cultural and political freedoms.

These elections are therefore of special importance to our country because it would shape the nature of our country and society for generations to come.

The future of our children is being shaped now. It is therefore necessary to ensure that we mobilise our entire communities to vote. Leaders such as yourselves present here tonight could make this a reality. It is necessary that you also call house meetings, meetings of business people in other structures and the community and invite ANC leaders from our branches, regions and even the head office to discuss various issues with you. This would ensure that the process of consultation carried out by the ANC is more rigorous.

You will have been given copies of the ANC's policy guidelines. These are not final policies. They are merely guidelines which need to be developed further. To this extent it is necessary to consider these proposals and engage the structures of the ANC in discussion so as to ensure that the interests of the Indian community are well considered.

You will note that it is the policy of the ANC to ensure that we provide the necessary incentives to ensure that our business people are allowed to develop so as to allow them to compete equally with their white counterparts. Unless we are able to build on the skills developed amongst your business people and secure that black business people are empowered to break into the industrial and manufacturing sectors, this economy would continue to be monopolised by a few white conglomerates. It is therefore in our interest to ensure that black business not only prosper but grow. To do this, we will need your assistance to ensure that we develop an effective economic strategy.

Finally it is necessary that you continue with the generous financial assistance that you have thus far provided us with. However, we also need human resources. In this regard, leaders such as yourselves are invaluable and are able to assist in using your influence to convince your communities to involve themselves in the process of transformation that is unfolding. After all, the best way to deal with your fears and concerns brought on by the transformation is to ensure that you are part of the process that manages it.

Before I conclude, I wish to convey my warmest greetings to all Muslims who will be engaged in fasting during the holy month of Ramadan. May you also have a happy Eid.

In conclusion, I sincerely hope that all goes well with your preparations for the Gandhi centenary celebrations. There are many lessons that one could draw on from the proud history of Gandhijee, and I hope that these would place you in good stead in dealing with this unfolding process of transition.

I thank you.

#### **Schoeman Responds to Mandela**

*MB1402080593 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0754 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[By political correspondent Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Feb 14 SAPA—The government was not prepared to accept voluntary inclusion in a government of national unity and would simply have to go back to the negotiating table with the ANC [African National Congress], Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said on Sunday.

He gave an initial reaction to ANC President Nelson Mandela's rejection of his claim on Friday that ANC and government negotiators had agreed to share power till 1999, five years after writing a new constitution.

Mr Mandela said on Saturday night the ANC had made no secret deals with the government on power-sharing. "The ANC proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a

certain proportion of seats in a constituent assembly," he said. "An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing," he said.

On Sunday morning, Mr Schoeman rejected this position. "A government of national unity is power-sharing," he said.

What he had said was based on what the parties' negotiating teams had arrived at in their three-day bilateral talks in Cape Town, and which was still to be approved by their principals. Each party, which attained a specific minimum support in the ballot, would be included in the government.

"There is nothing voluntary about it except in the sense that a party may refuse to participate if it so chooses.

"A purely voluntary coalition is not acceptable to us, and if that is the interpretation now given, we are back to square one. We will just have to take it back to the negotiating table," he said.

#### **De Klerk on National Unity Government**

*MB1402192193 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1841 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Text] Cape Town Feb 14 SAPA—The government and the African National Congress (ANC) had made no deals on power-sharing during bilateral discussions, President F W de Klerk said on Sunday [14 February].

Agreement on issues could only be reached in multi-lateral talks representative of all parties in the country, Mr. de Klerk told British interviewer Sir David Frost on SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] television. "But in the meantime we are having bilateral talks to narrow the differences between us so that when multi-lateral discussions begin we can start with a broader base of consensus."

Mr. de Klerk also emphasised the need to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) fully into the negotiating process or South Africa could "go the way of Yugoslavia".

"Inkatha must be part of a new dispensation or we are looking for trouble," he said.

The government will meet IFP this week to discuss fundamental issues.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned this weekend that bloodshed could result if the government and the ANC tried to impose their constitutional plans on the country.

While denying that the government had made any "fixed deals" in bilateral discussions, Mr. de Klerk confirmed that there had been consensus in discussions with the ANC that a government of national unity should last for the "normal period of any government operating in a modern democracy"—which would be for four or five years. He said he was pleased that there was growing consensus that unity would require time.

The ANC and the government's visions on the future had further converged with regard to the necessity for devolution of power to a strong regional government.

The government believed that there should be entrenched powers, duties and authorities for regional governments. "The progress which we have been making in the bilaterals allows a picture of...a framework for a transitional period which can bring stability to this country, which can offer security to investors, which can create the type of atmosphere which is necessary to instill sufficient confidence in the international community to start using South Africa as the platform from which to launch its actions into southern Africa and into the rest of Africa."

Mr. de Klerk indicated that he expected broad-based involvement in the proposed government of national unity. He expressed the need to also introduce further mechanisms, such as a delimitation commission, to decide on how decentralisation and devolution of power could take place.

He hoped that by the end of the year at least the border of the different regions would be in place.

The state president also re-emphasised that proportionality would be part of the final solution and that elections would decide who participated in a government of national unity.

The leader of the party with the most support would become the state president but would not have the powers and duties which currently existed. "No one man must have as much power... as I have in the present system."

He said that although it was possible ANC leader Nelson Mandela could become president, all politicians were human and frail. "I don't know whether my health will stand up to the test of time," he added.

Mr. de Klerk said he would be perfectly happy to serve in whatever capacity he could under the new constitution. "It must be decided at a multi-party conference, it cannot be a private deal between the ANC and the government."

He concluded that he looked forward to a positive future for South Africa. "We have made tremendous progress and I am confident that in the final chapter of negotiations we will have a broad agreement which will bring stability."

[Johannesburg SAPA in English at 1848 GMT on 14 February carries the following report:

["South Africa needed African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to reach an understanding, President F W de Klerk said on Sunday.

["He told British interviewer Sir David Frost on SABC television it was a pity that a 'meeting of the minds'

between two such important leaders had been scuttled so often. 'We need to create the right atmosphere for agreement on the rules of the game. South Africa needs them to reach an understanding.'

["Mr. de Klerk denied that there was an alliance between the National Party government and the ANC. "People often incorrectly interpreted agreement between two parties as meaning that an alliance had developed, he said.

["He described the alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party as unfortunate but said it was probably only temporary as the two organisations harboured divergent views."]

### Third Parties React to Proposed Government-ANC Agreement

#### Buthelezi Criticizes Deal

MB1302065993 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0526 GMT 13 Feb 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service: "Press statement by Dr Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, president, Inkatha Freedom Party, [and] chief minister of kwaZulu" on 13 Feb]

[Text] I have been requested to respond, on behalf of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and the kwaZulu government, with regard to the latest agreements which are reported to have been made between the SA Government and the ANC/SACP alliance.

In doing so I emphasise at the outset that I am having to rely on information provided by the press and in these reports it is stated that the so-called agreements/proposals/options are "informal" and are yet to be sanctioned by the principals concerned.

In what is being described as a "constitutional breakthrough" it is said that the government and the ANC/SACP alliance have tentatively agreed that:

The issue of regional government would be finally decided by an elected constitution-making body (constituent assembly);

An elected government of national unity would rule for five years (government version) and nine months (ANC version).

Nevertheless, should this thinking ever transform itself into binding bilateral reality, the question should then be asked as to how the two parties concerned plan to impose such undemocratic top-down connivance on the populations, political formations, traditional structures and governments in these regions.

South Africa now needs to seriously consider the consequent bottom-up reactions to such bizarre attempts to



manipulate constitutionality and minds should be concentrated on recent world events in which similar arrogant impositions have resulted in untold misery and bloodshed.

I can only comment insofar as the kwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are concerned. If the ANC/SACP alliance and the government are serious in proceeding along the lines described, they will have to factor into their plans the need for using the South African Defence Force and the private army of the ANC/SACP alliance, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK): ANC military wing], to achieve compliance in kwaZulu/Natal.

If this is indeed their line of thinking, I have a duty to say very bluntly that the government and the ANC/SACP alliance are now dangerously toying with all our lives and the lives of our children and grandchildren.

There is no possibility whatsoever of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the kwaZulu government, traditional structures and the majority of the people of kwaZulu/Natal accepting that a constituent assembly (elected in unfree and unfair elections in the current climate of violence and intimidation) will decide on the boundaries, powers, functions and structures of the region. It is simply out of the question.

'We have been led to believe by the state president that his government has accepted the need for federal constitutional principles for South Africa. These latest reports negate such an undertaking and put the constitutional cart before the horse.

National unity, peace, stability, economic growth and the positive acceptance and enhancement of cultural diversity in our country will only have a chance of success if vital issues such as regionalism and the personal autonomy of all South Africans are constructively negotiated now. Negotiations in this regard must be all-inclusive and they cannot be dictated to by factions determined to wield power whatever the cost.

The IFP and the kwaZulu government have proposed the quickest possible route to democracy for South Africa: the steps in brief:

A multi-party planning conference which will decide the form of state to be negotiated (for example federalism); other modalities and process;

Substantive negotiations to follow on all aspects of the previously agreed constitutional principles;

The all-inclusive drafting of the constitution by the parties/governments/organisations/traditional structures involved as agreed upon;

The resultant draft constitution being put to the people of South Africa in a referendum for acceptance or rejection;

Following acceptance, an election for a democratic government.

In this way South Africa could hold elections by the end of next year and have a democratic government and, crucially, a final constitution in place. A constitution negotiated and accepted by all relevant political and other formations and hopefully respected and upheld by the majority of citizens and following generations.

This is Inkatha's vision of seeking and incorporating the true will of all the people of South Africa in the most fundamental document produced by any nation.

One then must ask why the ANC/SACP alliance and the government/National Party wish to avoid such a democratic process and, instead, are attempting to devise a plan (clearly with the aim of excluding others) in which the constitution will be finally written (at some stage, we know not when) by some and not others.

Cosy power-sharing deals emerging between the ANC/SACP alliance and the government, when the ravages of apartheid in all its dimensions still afflict so many millions, are as distasteful as they are dangerous.

#### **PAC Accuses ANC of 'Selling Out'**

*MB1502135793 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1234 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 15 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] was adamant on Monday that the government and the African National Congress [ANC] were on the verge of a power-sharing deal lasting till 1999, saying the PAC had been briefed on this development by the diplomatic corps, both inside and outside South Africa.

Reading a statement in Johannesburg, PAC Secretary General Benny Alexander said government and ANC representatives had briefed the diplomatic corps on the impending "deal", and the diplomats in turn had informed the PAC of the decisions.

"The ANC National Executive Committee accepted the (Joe) Slovo power-sharing proposals and their negotiators were, therefore, fully mandated to bind the ANC on the matter.

"The National Party caucus already decided to accept power-sharing and their negotiators, too, were fully mandated to bind the regime on the matter."

"They furthermore leaked the deal to test the responses of their opponents and the diplomatic corps. The diplomats responded by stating their desire for an all-inclusive process of real democracy. Their (ANC/government) opponents, too, were united in their criticism of the deal.

"We are convinced that the regime and the ANC are going to get married and give birth to a baby named neo-colonialism," said Mr Alexander. He added it was

with deep regret the PAC had to indict the ANC for "selling out the struggle at the table of convenience of a few elite".

With regard to reported impending talks between the PAC and the government, Mr Alexander said there had been no contact as yet with the government on the issue.

He added the PAC could decide to attend a multiparty preparatory meeting to further discuss ways of achieving a constituent assembly. In the meantime, the organisation still believed in a two-pronged approach—that of negotiations and the armed struggle.

Mr Alexander also revealed that the World Council of Churches [WCC] had ceased funding of the WCC's programme to combat apartheid in which the ANC and PAC had been funded separately.

"The WCC has now agreed to (donate) an amount of US\$70,000 to bring about a united front," he said, adding that the PAC still believed the "organisations of the oppressed" should speak with one voice.

#### **PAC's Makwetu Condemns Agreement**

*MB1402052493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] There has been widespread condemnation of the powersharing agreement between the government and the ANC [African National Congress]. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [SABC reporter Gary Alfonso] PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] President Clarence Makwetu also rejected the agreement, saying the deal would lead to a cul-de-sac in the process for democratically elected government structures.

[Makwetu] According to the present constitution the regime can rule up to September next year. So now, through this interim arrangement they have extended their life, and, worse still, that is going to affect our position. In other words, we won't realize national liberation and self-determination until the next century. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### **Promises Opposition to Agreement**

*MB1402163793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1547 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Feb 14 SAPA—Different forms of struggle—including armed struggle—would be used to oppose the reported five-year power sharing deal between the government and the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) President Clarence Makwetu said on Sunday [14 February].

Mr. Makwetu said in an interview in Cape Town that prevailing conditions would determine the appropriate

form of opposition to the interim government of national unity apparently agreed to in ANC-government talks last week.

Mr. Makwetu predicted that the government and the ANC would "not have the audacity" to implement the power-sharing proposal, which still has to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's National Executive Committee. He said a five-year interim government was a luxury which the masses could not afford and which would prolong the life of the National Party government. "The whole system is covered in the blood of our people. These are the people that the ANC now wants to share power with."

The PAC and other members of the patriotic front would consider "ejecting those that no longer represent the masses". Alliances with the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action would be strengthened.

Mr. Makwetu said the government would be compelled to lift its unilateral suspension of talks with the PAC because no political solution was possible without his organisation.

Earlier, at a rally in Langa outside Cape Town, attended by about 1,000 people, Mr. Makwetu rejected PAC participation in a re-convened Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and called for a new multilateral forum which excluded ethnically and tribally based organisations.

He said a new forum should have a neutral convenor and transparency through the presence of the media. Its sole purpose should be to prepare for elections for a constituent assembly.

"The PAC is not fighting for the crumbs from the master's table. The PAC stands for self determination and national liberation."

#### **Notes Possible End to Armed Struggle**

*MB1502134993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1309 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] Durban Feb 15 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] has promised it will not continue its armed struggle if it loses a general election, provided its followers can vote.

But, the organisation's president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, told SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news in Durban on Monday that elections could not be held at this stage as the PAC believed that more secret dealings between the ANC [African National Congress] and the government would be unveiled.



**AZAPO Opposes Agreement**

*MB1302151693 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1210 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 13 SAPA—Black organisations committed to true, permanent freedom and majority rule in South Africa must oppose attempts aimed at subverting the "noble" liberation struggle, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation [AZAPO] said on Saturday [13 February].

Reacting to government and African National Congress announcements of power-sharing in a transitional government which could last up to five years, AZAPO spokesman Dr. Gomolemo Mokae said:

"The credibility of any black organisation which chooses to get into co-governance with the white minority regime, however temporarily, will plummet. The ban-tustans, tricameral and community councillors know from experience that whoever chooses to collaborate with the regime kisses legitimacy in the eyes of the oppressed goodbye", Dr. Mokae said.

Oppressed blacks wanted complete and undiluted liberation and not power-sharing, he said.

In a separate statement AZAPO's Deputy President Phandelani Nefolovhodwe called on organisations left out of the ANC/government negotiations to unite and oppose what he called "the interim government of the elite".

Mr. Nefolovhodwe said the proposed interim government would weaken the constituent assembly and freeze democracy for five years.

"Pre-arrangements of this nature, being agreements between two parties, have the potential of antagonising other parties significant to the agreements. The stark consequences of which is ungovernability", said Mr. Nefolovhodwe.

He alleged the government had succeeded in cheating the ANC into the agreement.

**Treurnicht: Agreement 'Unacceptable'**

*MB1302173893 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1600 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Text] The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr. Andries Treurnicht, says the CP finds the powersharing agreement between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] unacceptable. Speaking in Bloemfontein, Dr. Treurnicht said the party did not accept that the [Orange] Free State should be a single region in a new South Africa. Provision would have to be made, he said, for the various peoples in the province as each demanded his own territory and government. Dr. Treurnicht said his party believed in maximum autonomy for states.

**Chris Hani on Future of ANC-SACP Alliance**

*MB1402144493 Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in  
Afrikaans 5-11 Feb 93 p 7-8*

[Report on interview with Chris Hani, South African Communist Party general secretary and African National Congress National Executive member, by Wally Mbhele—interview conducted in English]

[Text] With elections looming on the horizon, questions are once more being raised about the relationship between the African National Congress (ANC) and its South African Communist Party (SACP) alliance partner. This comes in the wake of reported allegations that the general secretary of the SACP, Chris Hani, has said the two organisation will part ways after elections and Nelson Mandela's repeated assertion that the two organisations will have to separate after elections.

Criticism against the alliance includes charges that the party dictates major policy and direction to the ANC—even that a communist cabal is overtly leading the movement. It has also been said that the SACP could cost the ANC votes in certain communities. For example, the potential Coloured and Indian vote.

However most of the shots have been fired from specific quarters—particularly the business community and the government. Inside the alliance, it is regarded as a fact that the ANC and SACP's fates are historically and structurally so intertwined that separation is almost impossible. About half of the ANC NEC [National Executive Committee] leaders are communists, including some of the movement's top policy makers. And almost 50 percent of ANC regions are led by communists. Due to lack of funds, they share almost everything—from fax machines to mass campaigns.

In some regions like the Western Cape, ideological differences between the ANC and the SACP are causing deep and possible lasting rifts.

But sources close to the movement say it would take at least about three years for both organisations to officially separate. The perception that the two are at war with each other about their future alliance is not true, VRYE WEEKBLAD found after speaking to a number of ANC and SACP officials. They stated categorically that their position remains unseparate and that their view on separation is the same. In this interview, the general secretary of the SACP, Chris Hani—also a top ANC NEC member, spells out the present and future scenario governing the alliance. While the two organisations may have to separate after elections, he says, they have much in common.

[Mbhele] So, you deny reports that you said the South African Communist Party will separate from the ANC after elections?

[Hani] The first point highlighted was that in this country there is a struggle against white domination, the struggle for national liberation and democracy. In that

struggle many organisations and movements have come together with the main objective of destroying white domination and ushering in democracy in our country.

And therefore I characterised our analysis as the one which has brought the African National Congress and the Communist Party together in order to bring about social order and justice. And I even went further to say therefore we are going to be going into any elections for a Constituent Assembly as an alliance led by the ANC in which the party will play an important role, as well as other patriotic and democratic organisations in the country.

[Mbhele] Then, what happens when you have a Constituent Assembly and a democratic government in place?

[Hani] Naturally, as is the case with all fighting alliances, with all progressive alliances, the two organisations will have to sit together and assess the situation. There will definitely be a new situation. There will be a democratic government elected by the people of South Africa which would be a realisation of one of the key objectives behind the alliance.

That review, in my thinking, will be necessary because the election of the ANC government will not necessarily empower our people. There would be a government elected by the people but the key areas of development in this country—both economic and political—will still be in the hands of the whites. The civil service will be predominantly white, so will the security forces, the economy and wealth of the country will still be concentrated in the hands of a few whites.

Our people, especially the black people, will still be poor, they will still be having serious problems with housing, with education, with electrification, water and health service.

[Mbhele] So you would actually have a very big area in which you must fight for the empowerment of our people?

[Hani] The struggle will still go on under a new South Africa. But it will be in a new climate because we'll be having democracy. Gone will be the trappings of a police state. There would be more freedom, I'm sure. It will be under these circumstances that the party and the ANC will define their relations.

[Mbhele] What are the possibilities that are likely to come?

[Hani] There would be many possibilities. There would [be] a possibility of the separation of ways. One of the reasons would be—if there is separation—that we are a Communist party committed to fighting for a socialist South Africa, where the main form of ownership will be public ownership in a socialist society. We'll be championing mainly the interests of the working class, the poor and the peasantry in the rural areas on the whole as a Communist Party.

The ANC will still have its sort of a broadly based character, bringing into its fold all the multi-class elements of our society. But there is also another possibility apart from separation. In the ANC we have thousands if not millions of people who have a socialist outlook. They are not members of our party but they have been fighting for the ANC, which has as its program the Freedom Charter, which speaks about socio-economic restructuring. The ANC in its own policy document says "the people must play a role in socio-economic restructuring of our country".

It is possible the ANC might move towards the left, towards socialism. But if I have a pessimistic projection, the ANC might not want to move towards socialism, it might feel: let us collaborate as two independent entities and define areas of co-operation. These are all sort of possibilities—it is difficult to say A will happen and B will not happen.

[Mbhele] But Nelson Mandela has repeatedly said the two organisations must separate after elections.

[Hani] I don't think the president of the ANC has been saying there will be a parting of ways. He says when we have achieved the objective of defeating apartheid, we might probably separate.

A successful outcome of any revolution presupposes that after victory, you have to consolidate. So you can't make an inference or conclusion that there is going to be a parting of the ways.

Everything will depend on those millions of members of the ANC and the party who have worked together. This issue cannot be decided by the leaders at the top only. Views of the leaders are important—but the grassroots views are important too because it is the grassroots that has been championing this alliance all these years.

[Mbhele] What if the ANC does not want to move towards socialism?

[Hani] What will happen will of course be to say, look, here is our program as the SACP. We are going to mobilise our people for the struggle towards socialism. We are going to mobilise our people for empowerment along the lines I have already briefly defined—a campaign we'll fight with the trade unions.

If there is a preponderance of views that we should separate, I don't think the party would refuse to separate.

In areas where we differ, we'll pursue our own program. We have always said we should be an independent party but we are trying to pursue this idea of an independent party within the framework of national liberation.

I don't think there'll be any acrimony if, on the basis of mutual discussion and debates, it is found that the two organisations should work separately. It would be foolish not to accept the reality of that decision.

[Mbhele] Will the SACP register for elections?

[Hani] We shall register. I don't know what will be the ground rule. There certainly will be some ground rules after all these negotiations. It might be said all those who'll be standing and contesting elections should register.

The ANC will register—I'm not sure whether as a movement or a political party. We all argue that this is still premature. The ANC is still a liberation movement because it is fighting for the liberation of the nation, which has been oppressed for a long time. And the ANC is arguing that you don't have to be a political party before you fight for elections. I don't think Swapo [South-West African People's Organization], Zanu [Zimbabwe African Nation Union] and Zapu [Zimbabwe African People's Union] went through that path before they contested elections. The question of registration will come in the natural course of development of events. We shall be an alliance led by the ANC. There will be a program and rules governing the conduct and that alliance in the CA [Constituent Assembly] and in the interim legislature. It would be a program of joint debates and discussions. The ANC has always brought issues before us and we have always brought issues before them.

[Mbhele] There have been allegations of the SACP dictating policy and direction to the ANC.

[Hani] Our history shows that we have never dictated to anyone. We put forward ideas for consideration and debate. We have always been the initiators of fresh ideas and thinking. We have never gone out in secret to canvass for those ideas. We have put them to be considered in open debates.

We don't dictate. How can we dictate to such a big organisation? It has never been our policy to dictate to any organisation, whether big or small. We believe in equality and independence. We don't believe even the ANC, big as it is, should dictate to other organisations. We believe in relations of complete equality.

[Mbhele] With last year's mass action, for instance, it was charged that it was a Communist Party initiative.

[Hani] (Laughs) Well, the government thinks the Communist Party is capable of anything. I'm sure they would love to blame us for the drought, for the violence, they would even love to blame us for the corruption that exists within the government circles. They might think we have agents who are inciting some of their members towards corruption. It is a ridiculous position, it's an irresponsible allegation not borne out or supported by any facts. It's part of their so-called communist excitement.

[Mbhele] You say you will not serve as a minister in a future government. Why?

[Hani] The danger of everybody rushing into government and parliament leaves a vacuum in terms of continuing with the struggle for empowerment. There

will be a democratically elected government and parliament—that is a little bit of empowerment, far less than a tip of the iceberg. Then the struggle for empowerment begins. How do you make sure that those who are outside parliament are able to exert a lot of pressure on the government to exercise the right priorities. Therefore, I see my role as being more important in terms of extra-parliamentary struggles than with being in parliament. I can be in parliament not as a cabinet minister—because when you are one, you are in a sort of a strait-jacket.

[Mbhele] You seem to be more of a watchdog and less of a political party vying for power.

[Hani] No. I wouldn't narrow it in that way. The role I'm explaining here will be a role that consolidates us as a political party. A political party which places itself in the midst of the people, with the aim of leading the people towards what the party will consider the better life, a better government all the time.

We shall not be fighting an ANC dominated government all the time—but where we begin to detect that it is not delivering the goods, we will fight. We'll examine the budget of the ANC government critically in terms of expenditure. Those will be key questions for us in future. Yes, we'll play a role of watchdogs but against we shall be consolidating in order to capture the support of the people. We are not just there for the sake of being there. We want to be the support of the working class in our country.

[Mbhele] You may become an official opposition then?

[Hani] Yes, that is possible. It can't be ruled out. My reason for saying that is that we are articulating the interests and aspirations of the majority of the oppressed people in this country, the workers and the rural people.

If we become consistent and we are seen to be at the forefront of struggles to bring about the improvement of the conditions of these people, I think we are going to have an appeal and it's going to be possible that most of these people will rally around the party and support it.

We do have aspirations, in the distant future, of ruling the country in the interests of our society and those who have been marginalised and ruthlessly suppressed and exploited for many years.

One day we would want to test our ideas, our views and our programme and put them before the people of South Africa and through democratic elections. I can't see the reason why we should not rule if the people say we should rule.

[Mbhele] The idea of the Red Plot, die Rooi Gevaar, still exists. What do you think is the reason for this?

[Hani] It is a product of the cold war, the indoctrination in this country, the National Party indoctrination at schools and universities. The NP has always tried to be anti-communism. Communism has affected almost the entire fabric of our society. But there is a turnabout. On



the ground, especially among the blacks, workers and the poor, this party is very popular. The recent Markinor polls say we are actually the second most important group amongst the blacks after the ANC. We are contesting that position with the PAC, AZAPO and Inkatha but we are said to be the fastest growing party in South Africa.

### 15 February Review of Current Events, Issues

MB1502140393

[Editorial Report]

#### SUNDAY TIMES

**Constitutional Transfer in Motion**—Commenting on reports of a power-sharing agreement between the government and the African National Congress, the ANC, the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English in its 14 February editorial on page 20 entitled "In the Laps of the Gods" says that with the agreement "the constitutional transfer has now been set in motion. We are on the last lap." It says: "The danger has long been recognised that South Africa's tribal passions might make democracy unworkable, and that the country might go directly from apartheid to what the ECONOMIST once called 'multi-racial fascism'." It adds that "that danger must be weighed against the dangers of political disintegration." The paper notes that "it is also open to question whether a Cabinet composed mainly of white and black moderates like Mr Mandela, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Thabo Mbeki will avert the criticisms of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her youthful, passion-driven supporters....The ANC is likely to lose some support on its left-wing, just as the National Party will certainly lose support to its right....The reactions of the Zulus and the conservative whites to this deal remains to be seen" but there is the danger that one or the other will be so alarmed at the prospect of a National Party-ANC oligarchy "that it may try to break free....Anyway, there is a major realignment of political forces in prospect, with most Afrikaners going to the Conservative Party, making the Nationalists hugely dependent on coloured, Indian, and some English voters to sustain a bargaining position in the constituent assembly; not to speak of the effect that powerful currents of emotion beneath the surface of township life may have on the ANC's support base." The paper concludes: "South African democracy now lies less in the hands of political leaders than in the laps of the gods. Transition is certain, but transition to what?"

#### SUNDAY STAR

**Accord on Regionalism**—In its 14 February editorial entitled "Press on regardless" on page 26, the Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English notes that "The Government and ANC this week overcame new obstacles in their quest for convergence on the key questions facing the country—power-sharing and regionalism....The devolution of power to regions is now common cause. Inkath demands it," the Nationalist Party "insists on it, and the ANC accepts it." The paper goes on to note,

however, that "De Klerk and Mandela have much to do before they deserve a Nobel Peace Prize. For a start the ANC can tackle its own turbulent elements with a lot more vigour. Innocent protestations of ignorance about gun-running impress nobody....If ANC heads have to roll to restore trust, so be it. And it must be the ANC itself that chops them off this time, not the police. Similarly, the Government must continue to pursue its own dirty-tricksters vigorously." In addition to this, the paper points out, there are still the Azanian People's Liberation Army and right-wing terrorism. "If race murder rears its ugly head again, it must not be allowed to delay progress for an instant as this would reward the obstructionists. These obstacles must not be allowed to trip us up this year before we reach the first goal of power-sharing. There may not be another chance."

#### THE STAR

**ANC-National Party Accord**—In its lead editorial on 15 February entitled "Advance to settlement" on page 12, the Johannesburg THE STAR in English says that the National Party-ANC agreement on a transitional government of national unity until the turn of the century "has been described as a secret—and, by implication, sinister—deal. The label is inaccurate." The paper notes that the proposals still have to be ratified by President de Klerk's Cabinet and the ANC's National Executive. Then they will be "mooted at an envisaged multiparty conference, where political organisations which suspect a trap or oppose the plan can try to persuade the conference as a whole to reject or radically alter it." As for the Inkatha Freedom Party's opposition to it, it will have a chance to persuade the government of "its perceived folly at their pending bilateral discussions." The paper sees a "potential problem" in a renewed deadlock at the multiparty conference and says that the "perils of pushing a settlement through on the notion of sufficient consensus must be weighed against the dangers of further delay in an already protracted and volatile transition. That is an issue which must be assessed carefully, if and when it arises. For the moment, the forward momentum" created by the accord "must not be thwarted by premature and outraged cries of conspiracy and collusion." The paper concludes that while "the proposals may require modification" they are "an advance on last year's acrimonious and dangerous deadlock" between the National Party and the ANC.

**Buthelezi-Mandela Meeting**—In its second editorial entitled "Vital challenge" on the same page, THE STAR notes the recommendation by a joint ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP, committee that Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet by mid-March "at the latest for talks to end violence between their followers." It says the recommendation "comes not a moment too soon. The violence threatening to subvert concerted efforts to again initiate multiparty negotiations has its vortex in Natal....Recent exposures about arms smuggling—two by the ANC and one by the IFP—stress the point: all three arms operations had Natal as their destination." It concludes that by pointing out that the

Goldstone Commission had identified the ANC-IFP rivalry as a primary cause of the violence and says "Curbing it is thus the special responsibility of the ANC and IFP leadership."

#### BUSINESS DAY

**Coalition Government's Legacy**—"A period of coalition government may seem the best immediately obvious option," concludes the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg's BUSINESS DAY in English on 15 February, "but it would not be a solution in itself. Its democratic legacy would be what matters. And that will depend on the safeguards enshrined in a new constitution and the determination of the smaller parties to ensure the NP [National Party] or the ANC [African National Congress] do not repeat the mistakes of the NP during its exclusive hold on power." The editorial states that the DP [Democratic Party] "is the one party which should not be left out of a coalition" as its "watchdog role will be crucial." Inkatha's objection to a bilateral NP-ANC agreement is "understandable," but it should not join the "same camp as the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] and other extremist groups."

#### SOWETAN

**Outcome of Government-ANC Talks**—"The outcome of last week's talks between the government and the ANC is a step in the right direction," the page 6 editorial in the Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 15 February states, as "Jaw-Jaw is far much better than War-War." The paper argues, however, that people "have been left with an uncomfortable feeling that they are being frozen out while the two parties concoct a deal that will be binding on us all." Both the PAC and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] "have spoken out strongly" against what they consider a "government-ANC agreement to postpone democracy until the turn of the century," while "Inkatha is warning of full-scale civil war should the agreement be implemented." For any agreement to stick, the paper concludes, "as many parties as possible need to be taken along."

#### DIE BURGER

**ANC Must Show Commitment To Settlement**—The Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans of 8 February notes in a page 8 editorial: "The danger posed to the democratic process by private armies is now being clearly illustrated. The fact that the African National Congress [ANC] military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [MK] has been caught while trying to smuggle a consignment of weapons into the country is more than just a great embarrassment to the ANC alliance. It raises serious doubts about the ANC's real commitment to peace and negotiation....MK's failed attempt at smuggling the weapons from caches outside the country once again poses the question of what the organization

intends to do with such arsenals. Why have they not yet made known the location of all their caches, as required by the Peace Accord, of which the ANC is a signatory?...Until this stumbling block has been removed, there is little sense in continuing negotiations. The onus is on the ANC to show that it is serious about a settlement."

**Power-Sharing Plan 'Encouraging'**—The Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans of 9 February states, in its page 8 editorial, that "the plan for power-sharing in a transitional government of national unity which is at present being discussed by the government and the ANC [African National Congress]-SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance could indicate encouraging progress. There are still sharp corners which need to be smoothed down, but nevertheless the proposals contain a significant shift in the thinking of the alliance. Up to now the ANC has scoffed at the idea of any form of power sharing. It has demanded a one-man, one-vote election, expecting that it would win and take over sole control. Behind this shift in thinking is the harsh reality which now seems to have filtered through to the ANC leadership: no party has the ability to rule the country on its own. There is still too much mistrust, protest, violence, and economic backlog. In such circumstances even 5 years can seem too short....With this in mind, it is vital that all the other major parties are involved in any progress which the government and the ANC might make."

**Radicals Must Be Watched**—In his "From My Political Pen" column in the Cape town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans of 10 February, columnist Dawie writes: "Every difficult step forward in the negotiation process between the government, the ANC [African National Congress], and Inkatha also blows on the smouldering coals of radicalism. The sparks are already beginning to spatter on the far-left and far-right flanks. Rumbles are even being heard among members of Inkatha, who till now have striven for a constitutional settlement....The ANC in particular must perhaps prepare for fine footwork. It must expect that a system of power-sharing—even if it is only for 5 years—will prove to be unacceptable to many of its followers....The cracks are already beginning to appear in the ANC alliance. Mrs. Winnie Mandela speaks deprecatingly about the elitist ANC leadership who, through power-sharing, plan to get between the same silk sheets as the 'oppressors.'" Dawie continues: "Equally disturbing are the political games of the Conservative Party [CP] and others on the far-right....According to the CP, 'its people' will be called to the armed struggle if a new constitution, with the ANC in a dominant role, is accepted without first allowing whites to express themselves on the matter....It is on the sly scheming of the radical factions that the negotiators must keep their eyes and ears. They dare not allow radicalism to destroy South Africa's future."



## Angola

### Observers Give UNITA Deadline for Decision on Talks

*MB1402060193 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Statement issued by the observers to the Angolan peace process on 13 February; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The observers to the Angolan peace process hereby confirm that the UN secretary general's special representative in Angola has not yet received any indication from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] leadership concerning the date for a new government-UNITA meeting in Addis Ababa.

The observers believe that the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [UNAVEM-2] can make available the necessary logistical and transportation means so the UNITA team to the talks and its leadership can establish contact. Furthermore, UNAVEM-2 can also provide the necessary means to ensure UNITA will be present at the upcoming Addis Ababa meeting. To that end, UNAVEM-2 will secure the necessary guarantees of safe passage from the government. The observers believe this is a way of settling the difficulties raised by UNITA concerning setting a date for a government-UNITA meeting.

In view of the fact that armed hostilities continue in contravention of the cease-fire accord, the observers, in line with their 11 February statement, hereby grant the UNITA leadership up to 2200 [2100 GMT] on 17 February to convey its decision regarding the date of the aforesaid meeting.

The observers will draw whatever conclusions they deem convenient from the UNITA leadership's possible failure to respond to this request.

### UNITA Official Responds

*MB1402185493 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Whilst the Angolan rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement has been recording successes in recent fighting around Huambo, it seems to be running out of friends elsewhere, with increasing diplomatic pressure to attend a further round of peace talks. Talks between the government and UNITA took place in Addis Ababa in January. But a second round, planned for last week, was canceled with UNITA claiming transport difficulties.

Well, now, in a sign of growing impatience with UNITA, the three official observer countries of the 1991 peace accord—the United States, Russia, and Portugal—have

delivered a virtual ultimatum to UNITA insisting that it stop fighting by Wednesday [17 February] night and that it set a fresh date for peace talks by then. The three countries did not specify what action they will take if UNITA failed to comply. Marcos Samondo is UNITA's representative to the United Nations and attended the January talks in Addis Ababa. On the line to New York, Josephine Hazeley asked him how he reacted to the ultimatum.

[Begin recording] [Samondo] Responding directly to the so-called ultimatum—I say so-called because I haven't seen it—I hope that the international community will not ask UNITA to do the impossible. Also, to really give an ultimatum to UNITA to go to Addis Ababa on such and such a date is really tantamount to asking a camel going through the eye of a needle.

[Hazeley] But why, why is it so impossible for you to go back for fresh talks. United Nations is calling for fresh talks, and now the group of observers is doing the same. So, what is so impossible for you?

[Samondo] I think what is the problem here is the critical situation which prevails in Angola and especially in Huambo where our headquarters are located. Our delegation is having difficulties to go back to Huambo and the observers know it because the government, day and night, they are bombing the city of Huambo; and also they are accusing the African neighbors, that is countries neighbor to Angola. Those countries have been closed by the Angolan Government, which means that even coming from the outside is very difficult.

How could you have a delegation negotiate with the Angolan Government and not be able to team up with the leadership to brief them and receive their mandate? I think really asking UNITA to go back at any moment, I mean, do we go on foot? Do we go on a boat? Do we go to do what? Even go to negotiation [passage indistinct] with a knife struck on the throat. What kind of negotiation is that?

[Hazeley] But aren't you just making excuses yet again? Surely, if there is a will, there is a way. If you do want to go to talks, to solve all this mess out in your country, you could get to talks if you wanted to, surely.

[Samondo] Well, if I am making just an excuse, let one of the observers take a plane and fly to Huambo at this moment. That is all. Is it possible at all? If the plane will not be shot down. There is heavy fighting in Huambo and the number of people that have been killed in Huambo is enormous. It is without proportions, the people that have been killed. The government is indiscriminately bombing the city of Huambo and [passage indistinct].

[Hazeley] You are saying there that the situation in Huambo is terrible. But, I mean, the United Nations plus the MPLA government, they have called for some amount of truce in Huambo, at least to help the people



get medical assistance and food to the civilian population there, but you in UNITA have refused?

[Samondo] [Passage indistinct] double standards. Let me give you an example. The population in Cuando Cubango Province, the area which is controlled by UNITA, there are people who are in hunger. There are people who have no food in that area. But there are international organizations who are donating food through Namibia; and the border of Angola-Namibia has been closed. The observers know about it. The UN also knows about it. The Angolan Government also knows about it. Why is that it is more important to give food to the people in Huambo and not important to give food to Cuando Cubango Province when the food is rotting on the other side of the border? So, those are the double standards.

In Huambo, basically what is happening at this moment is that our fear is that if there is a truce, the Angolan Government may use the truce to actually resupply their own forces. The solution to the Huambo crisis could have been very simple. The government is the one which launched the attack. The government is the one which is attacking UNITA. Why they just don't back off? Why they don't just go back to where they belong so that peace can be restored in Angola?

[Hazeley] You know, my understanding is that if you in UNITA fail to comply with the observers date, you know, they might increase UNITA's diplomatic isolation and probably all the help you get from them, in terms of maybe finance or whatever, might be stopped?

[Samondo] I would like to reverse your question. What can best help the peace process at this moment? Is it a punitive measure? Is it by adding more pressure to UNITA? UNITA has already been victimized. The election was stolen from UNITA. UNITA, they have lost its people to the onslaught. Would the observers make a better contribution to peace by punishing more UNITA or really open a good dialogue and help both sides to come to the table of negotiations? So, that is my own response to your question.

[Hazeley] But they are saying you must go back to talks and you are saying you can't go and you have (?put) all sorts of obstacles?

[Samondo] No. We are not saying that we cannot go. Just for your own information, I myself have already got my visa to go to Addis and I have already my ticket bought to go to Addis. I am just waiting for the delegation to make a presentation of their first meeting in Addis. As soon as the logistics, because the problem here is logistics—how to get to Huambo and how to get out. [sentence incomplete as heard] This problem is logistics. There is nothing to do with UNITA winning the battle. [end recording]

**UNITA Awaits Anstee Response on Meeting Date**  
*MB1502131793 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is still awaiting an official response from Margaret Anstee, special representative of the UN secretary general in Angola, regarding the date to resume the Addis Ababa talks. A response is in line with what was discussed at the conversation held on 11 February between the UN officials and Dr. Jaka Jamba, UNITA's assistant secretary for foreign affairs,

UNITA political officials told the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel today that the only obstacles are of a logistical nature because no airliner risks sending its aircraft to Angola's war zones where the UNITA leadership is based. The officials fear a repetition of what happened with the 21 foreign experts freed in Uige.

Meanwhile, those officials have welcomed reports that the U.S. Government was willing to safely bring back UNITA negotiators from the first round of talks. The U.S. Government is also willing to make the same arrangements for the second round of talks once Dr. Anstee agrees to it.

**UNITA's Valentim Discusses Situation in Huambo**

*MB1302180893 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Telephone interview with Jorge Alicerces Valentim, spokesman of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola in Huambo, by Papagaio Mussili on 13 February—recorded]

[Text] [Mussili] Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, foreign secretary of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], it is always our great pleasure to have you on the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel. We would like to take this opportunity to begin by asking: How is the war going in Angola?

[Valentim] It also gives me great pleasure to be in contact with my colleagues in the information field. Warm greetings to you all! The answer to your question is simple. The war in Angola has become increasingly intense and government forces are completely confused and distressed in the face of the titanic and victorious resistance of the freedom fighters who are defending the Angolan people against the genocide perpetrated by the tyrannical government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT], which is trying to continue to impose armed communism in Angola.

Regarding clashes in the city of Huambo, the glorious UNITA armed forces, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], are scoring victories, motivated

by the defense of the deep interests of the Angolan people. In view of our motivation, the justness of our political cause, and the wise leadership of our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the final victory must necessarily belong to UNITA, for the triumph of freedom, democracy, progress, and equality for all the Angolan people, regardless of race, tribe, social class, or region.

It is with great pride and joy that we announce once again that almost the entire city of Huambo is under UNITA's control, including some very important points, notably the military preparatory academy, the military hospital, the barracks of the Riot Police or the secret army of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], and Huambo Airport.

[Mussili] Mr. Foreign Secretary, how are the people behaving on the Huambo front, as well as on northern, eastern, and southern fronts?

[Valentim] There is complete unity among all the Angolan people and between the Angolan people and soldiers. This constitutes a guarantee for the victory of the sacred cause that we defend. There are no divisions at all and there are no superiority or inferiority complexes among the Angolan people coming from different tribes and regions. The experience during 16 years of struggle against the Cuban presence in Angola; the bitter lesson of the Luanda events where Angolan people coming from northern, central, southern, and eastern Angola were derogatorily described as Bailundos and killed with knives, swords or shot dead; as well as the massacre of people derogatorily described as Zairians in Uige and Zaire; all this led all the people coming from different groups to understand what their fate is under the MPLA-PT. Thus, all the Angolan people from the northern, central, southern, and eastern regions decided to unite and continue united for their redemption and salvation.

The massacres carried out in Luanda [words indistinct] Kimbundu supporting the MPLA-PT's tyrannical regime. The MPLA-PT cannot succeed in mounting a false campaign within the UNITA ranks. The suffering and bloodshed by many Angolans united the Angolan patriots who are militants and sympathizers of UNITA. The (?bald-faced) murderers and tribalists of the MPLA-PT cannot [words indistinct] we are all united and the unity is our strength for salvation. Our salvation will only come about if we maintain this unity around UNITA's ideals, under the wise leadership of our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. Down with the tribalism promoted by the MPLA-PT! In UNITA, there is only unity and unity will continue to prevail in our midst!

[Mussili] What is the people's reaction to the war?

[Valentim] The Angolan people understand that the war was imposed by the MPLA-PT throughout the national territory. Accordingly, for the survival of the Angolan

people who are outside Luanda and who are not Kimbundu, it was necessary to follow the path of resistance. Even with immense difficulties, the ideals of freedom and physical and political security have encouraged our people to continue with the fight.

All the people hope and pray that the fighting will benefit UNITA because otherwise it would be a catastrophe for all of mankind. The suffering would by far exceed the proportions of the Luanda carnage. As was the case during World War II when the people, deprived of freedom and democracy, hoped for the victory of the allied forces [words indistinct] landing on the French coast, similarly, the all Angolans want to see the victory of UNITA today so that there may be a new Angola which is more fraternal, full of solidarity, and dignified, thus ending the MPLA-PT government's reign of tyranny. There will be no more destruction of churches in a new Angola. There will be no destruction of houses. There will be no arbitrary arrests [words indistinct]. There will only be freedom of [word indistinct] in a new Angola.

[Mussili] Dr. Valentim, what are these reports about General Manuvacola's detention?

[Valentim] Our delegation to the peace talks in Addis Ababa—that is, the UNITA delegation led by General Manuvacola, secretary general of the party—has not yet returned to Angola because the MPLA-PT has closed all the borders. The MPLA-PT is solely to blame for the delay in holding a meeting in Addis Ababa.

What is more, behaving in an eccentric manner, the MPLA-PT attacked technicians of the Petrofina Oil Company belonging to the Societe Generale de Belgique [preceding words in French]. If the MPLA aircraft was successful in killing the foreign technicians and destroying the aircraft of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the MPLA-PT government would never agree to accept the blame and would have falsely accused UNITA. It was only after much evidence and pressure that the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces or FAPLA—it is one and the same thing—admitted responsibility.

The MPLA-PT government does not respect negotiators. We saw this with great grief and repulsion when our comrades-in-arms were tragically killed. Killed were Engineer Jeremias Chitunda, vice president of UNITA; Engineer Elias Salupeto Pena, head of the UNITA delegation at the Joint Political and Military Commission; and also—unless proved otherwise—Secretary General Adolosi Mango Alicerces. With the borders closed, the MPLA-PT is solely to blame for any delay in the Addis Ababa talks.

[Mussili] Dr. Valentim, turning to the issue of war. I would like to ask: If the MPLA says that it is winning the war, why is it asking for a truce?

[Valentim] The answer is simple and it is contained in your question. If the MPLA is asking for a truce, it is

because it is losing the war. It is not MPLA's tradition to facilitate truces when it is winning. We should recall that our negotiators in Luanda were killed after the cease-fire declared by the UN secretary general came into effect. The MPLA does not favor a truce in Huambo for humanitarian reasons. It is all lies. The MPLA wants a truce for purely military reasons. It wants a truce to supply and reinforce its military garrison which is completely besieged, facing serious difficulties and crumbling.

That is not all. If the MPLA-PT favors international humanitarian assistance, why does it not allow flights carrying basic commodities, food donated by international humanitarian organizations [words indistinct] from the FRG, and the United Nations for the people in (Bucusso), Jamba, Licua, Mavinga, Rivungo, and Pedra in the southeastern Cuando Cubango Province? They use food as a political weapon against the people under UNITA's control. The food is currently rotting in Namibia.

Even before the intensification of war throughout the country, the MPLA government had decided to prevent the supply of food and other goods to the Provinces of Huambo, Ndalatando, Caxito, Uige, Negage, M'banza-Congo, and other areas under UNITA's control. Where is the honesty of the MPLA-PT? The MPLA must end its false allegations about the so-called foreign intervention by Zairian or South African troops in the Angolan conflict. It is just a pretext to hinder relations among peoples. A government which uses food as a political weapon against its own people [words indistinct] something which is very different from a government.

[Mussili] Certain elected UNITA members want to occupy seats in the National Assembly and intend to form a new UNITA to overthrow President Dr. Savimbi. What do you say about that, Dr. Valentim?

[Valentim] That is a [word indistinct] joke. It is an old maneuver by the MPLA-PT to try to divide UNITA, to try to create confusion within UNITA by exercising pressure and manipulating prisoners found in Luanda and other provinces. What is the stand of the observers of the Bicesse Accord in this regard, we ask? We would like to make it clear that all UNITA deputies were elected under a UNITA banner. This UNITA has a leadership. It is led by President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. There was no independent candidate, nor are there two UNITAs. There is only one UNITA. The UNITA in Luanda is just a figment of the imagination of the ministry of interior and security of the government of the MPLA. This UNITA of prisoners in Luanda does not represent anyone. It does not have any mandate from the organization. As a matter of fact, it is an abuse and a political aberration for it to call itself UNITA. This UNITA of prisoners will not last long.

We would like to state once again that our prisoners in Luanda have done nothing wrong. They fulfilled their mission within the framework of the Bicesse Accord and

the government of the MPLA, which mounted a coup d'etat, arrested them and treated them abusively, and it is today playing with them [words indistinct]. That is unacceptable.

Why cannot international organizations defend our colleagues? UNITA is fighting in legitimate defense against the genocide mounted by the MPLA-PT. The type of genocide experienced in Luanda, Sumbe, Lubango, Namibe, Benguela, Lobito, Cunene, Luena, Saurimo, Dundo, Menongue and so on, is unacceptable. It would be cowardly. We are not ready for that. All of us, UNITA militants, express our full solidarity with our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. Dr. Savimbi, you can count on us and we count on you always, forever [preceding word in English].

[Mussili] Dr. Valentim, how should the oil companies view UNITA?

[Valentim] They should understand the legitimacy of the UNITA struggle. It is to deal with UNITA [preceding four words in English] instead of trying to play the game of the corrupt government of the MPLA-PT. For attentive listeners, a few words are enough. A badly read, interpreted, and managed international [words indistinct] gives bad results. There is no reason for misunderstanding. UNITA is a serious organization. It is entirely in the service of the Angolan people.

[Mussili] Dr. Valentim, thank you very much. We have concluded our interview but the microphones are at your full disposal, the line is open, for anything else you would like to add.

[Valentim] I would like once again to thank all the colleagues in the information field and to extend a general appeal to the Angolan people for solidarity and sympathy with our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, who characterizes the honor, dignity, and the determination of the heroic Angolan people. Thank you very much.

[Mussili] Thank you for this interview.

## Fighting Continues in Huambo, Other Places

### Government Officers View Conflict

MB1402075593 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] The situation in the city of Huambo remains dramatic. Hundreds of corpses can be seen strewn in the streets. Wounded persons cannot be evacuated. There is a lack of water and electricity. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has already used some 12,000 [figure as heard] shells over the course of its military operations. UNITA is currently using more than 12,000 men in its attempt to take the city by force. Angolan Armed Forces Brigadier Ngweto, who disclosed that information, granted this interview to Radio Angola yesterday:



[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Brig. Ngweto: Could you describe the situation in Huambo? UNITA is still saying it occupies the city. How true is this?

[Ngweto] We would like to tell you from Huambo that the situation is still characterized by intense clashes between our troops and joint UNITA-mercenary forces. UNITA continues to occupy the province's districts. In fact, it was already occupying those districts prior to the clashes. Now, it is trying at all cost to take the city. We are resisting powerfully, despite UNITA's numerous forces and large quantities of weapons. At this time, it has more than 12,000 men. It is also using new weapons. Hercules aircraft are flying in every day to resupply Jonas Savimbi's men. Nonetheless, because our troops are in the right, we remain committed to defending the city to the last man.

[Reporter] Reports filtering through to Luanda say that the city of Huambo has been extensively ravaged. Could you give us a true picture of the physical state of the city of Huambo at this juncture?

[Ngweto] The city has virtually been reduced to rubble, all because of UNITA's blind (?ambition). UNITA does not care that people are dying. Just to give you an idea, UNITA has used more than 19,000 shells since the clashes began, killing thousands of people in the process. [end recording]

Police First Superintendent Commander (Sukissa) also granted an interview to Radio Angola. He revealed that detained mercenaries are still in Huambo and that UNITA has murdered the relatives of government officials as well as intellectuals:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Commander: UNITA continues to claim that its entire General Staff remains in Huambo. To what extent is this true?

[[Sukissa]] That information is not true. Dr. Savimbi was the first to pull out. He was accompanied by his team. Only the military have been left in Huambo. Obviously, he is interested in having his propaganda machinery tell the international media that he remains in Huambo.

[Reporter] I would like to know whether the detained mercenaries are still in the hands of the government forces. If so, why have they not been moved to Luanda?

[[Sukissa]] Detained mercenaries remain in our hands in Huambo. Because of the intensity of the clashes, it is impossible to take them to Luanda at this stage.

[Reporter] Could you give us the names of the families murdered by UNITA in Huambo?

[[Sukissa]] The relatives of government officials, including Angolan Prime Minister Marcolino Moco, former Huambo Province Governor Graciano Mambe, Dr. Arlindo, and many other people.

[Reporter] Rumors have been doing the rounds here in Luanda that Commander (Sukissa) had been seriously wounded and admitted to a hospital.

[[Sukissa]] That is not true. I am in good health and my morale is high. Physically, I think I am complying with my patriotic duties. [end recording]

### UNITA Radio Reports Fighting

MB1502074493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Lourenco Bento, Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel correspondent in the city of Huambo, reports that troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] suffered yet another humiliating reverse in Huambo yesterday. They had to flee (Taira) barracks and the Zoological Gardens, where People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] units had sought shelter. More than 100 FAPLA soldiers were killed and their bodies left on the ground in the wake of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola's [FALA] audacious attack. Survivors fled to the Interior Ministry.

FALA forces in the city of Soyo remain on alert. National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] special forces carried out military maneuvers along the coast and inside Zaire Province. UNITA troops protecting the northern border, including the Congo River's navigable section, carried out similar exercises. It should be noted that Spanish-made boats were detected near the coast last weekend. Meanwhile, the situation in the north is regarded as calm.

Menongue, capital of Cuando Cubango Province, continues to be the stage for violent clashes where the daring FALA soldiers' fighting power has been evident. Black Cockerel correspondent (Ferreiro do Povo) reports the government's Angolan Armed Forces [FAA]-FAPLA-Riot Police military coalition has had many of its soldiers killed or wounded, has suffered serious equipment damage, and has been extensively beaten on every operational front. (Ferreiro do Povo) also reports that the bodies of many government soldiers were found on the ground following their attempt to recapture areas around Menongue Airport on 13 February. FALA forces also captured a large assortment of war materiel on that occasion, including one 82-mm mortar, five AK-47 rifles, and thousands of rounds of ammunition of various calibers. FALA forces also destroyed 10 BMP-1 armored cars and three T-55 tanks.

The UNITA forces are continuing their unstoppable and victorious march forward by increasingly tightening their siege of Menongue. FAA-FAPLA-Riot Police soldiers in the area are said to be desperate and deserting in large numbers. Black Cockerel learned from a reliable military source that 20 government soldiers had fled

only yesterday. That source also disclosed that famine is spreading and disorder is seeping into the government ranks.

MPLA-PT forces in Cuanza Sul Province have been defeated. They are to be replaced with Katangese forces, so the MPLA-PT can launch yet another adventurous offensive on Quibala. The FALA chief of the General Staff has reported that Katangese forces have already arrived in Gabela for that purpose.

#### **FAPLA Attack on Bie Repelled**

*MB1502130993 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] Clashes for the complete control of the highlands city of Bie continue with the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], the armed wing of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], scoring astonishing victories against the Eduardo dos Santos' People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Riot Police alliance. Our correspondent Jardim Prata has the details:

[Begin Prata recording] In an attempt to retake Bie Airport, which has been under the control of the glorious FALA, the FAPLA-Riot Police once again [words indistinct]. In that warmongering adventure, two high-ranking Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] officers are believed to have been killed. They are Colonel (Alfredo Kussuma), FAPLA Provincial Commander, born in Cunhinga, Bie Province, on 27 September 1957, and Major Luciano Candido da Silva, born in Cabinda, who represented the Interior Ministry and the State Security in the province. In addition to those two, dozens of FAPLA and Riot Police members were killed or wounded. FALA forces captured large quantities of war materiel and [words indistinct].

MPLA-PT forces are in a desperate situation. They are confined to a few areas of the city. Fearing a final attack, FAPLA units and Riot Police personnel are planning to escape to Malanje, using the Cunhinga road. FALA forces have already taken measures and the enemy will face death on their way to Malanje. [end recording]

#### **Government Attempting To Reinforce Huambo**

*MB1502064193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] A 50-vehicle MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] convoy is pushing towards the beleaguered city of Huambo in Angola, where more than 6,000 people have been killed in battles so far. Meanwhile, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces have destroyed a key bridge in an effort to slow the advance.

Fighting is raging in Huambo, and the situation is reportedly critical, with neither side able to take control after more than a month of intense shelling and infantry skirmishes.

Meanwhile, the United States, Russia, and Portugal have issued an ultimatum to UNITA, giving the rebels three days to stop the fighting.

#### **Government Officers Said Wounded**

*MB1202215493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 12 Feb 93*

[Text] Reports from Huambo say the two highest-ranking government army officers there in Huambo have been seriously wounded with little chance of survival. They are Colonel Sukissa, first superintendent of the Riot Police. The second officer has not yet been identified, but it is already known that he is a general.

During yesterday's clashes, UNITA killed the telecommunications commander of the Fourth Military Region of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], identified as Isaac.

Meanwhile, a FAPLA soldier captured on the battlefield today revealed that in order to evacuate the wounded senior officers, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party mobilized humanitarian organizations to appeal for a truce in the clashes.

Over the past few days, clashes for the control of the city of Huambo have increased in intensity with FALA forces scoring victories. Ninety-five percent of the city of Huambo is under its control. What is more, it has neutralized Jose Eduardo dos Santos's fighting power by 96 percent.

#### **French, Spanish Involvement Charged**

*MB1302071693 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Text] Mercenaries believed to be French and Spanish plan to attack the city of Soyo by launching operations from the coast.

Reports from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola Special Coast Guard Command say that Spanish-made warships have been detected in Angolan territorial waters. One week ago, General [name indistinct] of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola planned to recapture Soyo so oil can be pumped and can be used to continue financing the war.

France is one of the countries interested in that anti-democratic business. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola have been placed on maximum alert. Brigadier (Apollo), defense commander for the Soyo area, has already inspected military units deployed along the coast.

**UNITA Deputies Reportedly To Join Parliament**

*MB1202143593 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 11 Feb 93*

[Text] Fourteen National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] deputies, who are in government custody, wish to take their seats in parliament. The deputies include Abel Chivukuvuku, Norberto de Castro, and Onorio van Dunem. They have condemned Jonas Savimbi's warmongering policy and admit that there will be a change in UNITA's leadership. That is according to Norberto de Castro.

[Begin recording] [reporter] Mr. Norberto de Castro, do you confirm that you and 13 of your colleagues who are UNITA cadres and officials, are ready to take your posts in the National Assembly as UNITA deputies?

[De Castro] We are fully prepared and according to information that will happen very soon. I think it will be early next week.

[Reporter] Does that mean that there have already been contacts with the chairman of the National Assembly?

[De Castro] Yes. We are waiting to be summoned to a parliament session scheduled to begin on 15 February.

[Reporter] Mr. Norberto de Castro, one could say that UNITA is isolated from Angolan society. As UNITA cadres and officials, what stand will you adopt? Will you defend UNITA's principles, the views you have hammered out here in Luanda, or will you defend your own beliefs?

[De Castro] There is no question of defending personal beliefs. When we adhered to UNITA it had a program. It still has one for which we fought for 16 or 17 years. Others have fought for much longer than that. Whereas that program is being undermined by an unjustified war, as we have stated publicly, then we will go to the National Assembly to defend the UNITA for which we fought for 16 or 17 years. We will not do that on behalf of this military wing which is sowing death and destruction throughout the country with no clear goals in mind.

[Reporter] Have you already considered a change in UNITA's leadership as suggested inside and outside Angola?

[De Castro] A change in UNITA's leadership does not depend on such a small group.

[Reporter] Pardon me, but has that situation arisen?

[De Castro] I think so. Contrary to what has been claimed, our attitude is not the result of manipulation. Our attitude is not restricted to those who are in Luanda or who are here in government custody. There are people from other parts of the country who have adhered to us. I would not like to go into detail because it is too early. So, once conditions are created, it will not be a matter of 14 or 20 people, but several thousands who will have something to say. [end recording]

**Mozambique****Dhlakama Warns UN Aid Not Reaching Renamo Areas**

*MB1302060293 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 0500 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Communique issued by the Mozambique National Resistance President's Office in Gorongosa on 13 February]

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], met Mr. Eliasson, UN assistant secretary for humanitarian affairs, at the UN headquarters in Geneva on 5 February.

President Dhlakama and the senior UN official discussed conveying humanitarian aid to people in need in Mozambican territory. President Dhlakama noted there are many Renamo-controlled areas where people are seriously affected by this problem. He explained those people have never received humanitarian assistance from aid organizations that have worked in Mozambique for many years.

In view of these problems, President Dhlakama asked Mr. Eliasson to intervene because he is the one who coordinates the humanitarian aid organizations' operations.

In turn, Mr. Eliasson described the meeting he held with President Dhlakama as very serious. He affirmed his willingness to relay the message to the UN headquarters in New York. He added that he will contact all (?aid organizations) operating in Mozambique to ensure they will work more correctly so that [words indistinct] Renamo- and government-controlled areas.

Renamo President Dhlakama also told Mr. Eliasson he is concerned about the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] regime's tactics, adding Frelimo has introduced more than 15,000 troops, as well as 3,000 men into the police force. [sentence as heard]

President Dhlakama noted that police force will not obey anybody except Frelimo in the future, adding it is made up almost exclusively of Frelimo personnel. President Dhlakama raised this concern because the United Nations has never reacted to incidental reports sent in by Renamo. President Dhlakama told Mr. Eliasson that all this violates the General Peace Accord, adding Frelimo wants to transform the police into its own army. He said the soldiers in the present army will eventually be joined by Renamo soldiers and the Marxist regime will not trust them anymore.

President Dhlakama (?warned) that the Frelimo regime is transferring its troops to the police force with the aim of killing Mozambican people. He advanced his opinion that, in order to overcome this problem posed by Frelimo's police force, more than 20,000 policemen from neutral countries should come to this country. Those



policemen would operate during the electoral process. The Frelimo police must be seen as part of the army. In view of that, Renamo wants a police force that will be able to maintain law and order in Mozambique.

Mr. Eliasson promised he would relay President Dhlakama's message to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

[Issued] Gorongosa, 13 February 1993

[Signed] Renamo President's Office

### UN's Ajello on Need To Postpone Elections

MB1202171893 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The United Nations is putting the brakes on Mozambique's peace process. Under the Rome agreement between the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels last year, the two sides were supposed to disarm and encamp their forces in preparation for the formation of a national army. Elections were supposed to be held in October this year, but the United Nations special representative in Mozambique, Aldo Ajello, is advising a delay in the election date to the middle of next year. On the line to Maputo, Elizabeth Ohene asked Mr. Ajello why he thought the election should be delayed.

[Begin recording] [Ajello] The first thing is that the timetable worked out in Rome at the moment of the signature of the peace agreement was completely unrealistic. So, there is no way that we can have elections in October. Since up to October, we have the beginning of the rainy season and the rainy season will finish in April-May, I think that the best moment for election will be June or July.

[Ohene] What are the practical difficulties?

[Ajello] Well, I [words indistinct] practical difficulties. There would be terrible difficulties in having elections in October. In addition to that, I made clear since the beginning, since my arrival here in Maputo, that I was not prepared to have elections in this country until the troops of the regular army, as well as the Renamo, are completely demobilized and the new army is in place.

[Ohene] Have you been talking to the government and Renamo about these things, and what do they say?

[Ajello] I think there is a general agreement, government, Renamo, and myself, that the elections must be taken only after the demobilization of troops. This fact implies some delay. They have accepted the idea of having this delay. I think that even if it has not been finalized yet, but the date will be the one I said, between June and July.

[Ohene] So, can we take it as agreed that the time for the elections will be next year, June or July?

[Ajello] The time will be certainly next year, yes. The exact date has not been decided yet.

[Ohene] How are the UN operations going now? What is hindering the demobilization?

[Ajello] Well, we have already identified the 49 assembly areas. As you know, there will be 20 on Renamo side and 29 on the government side. All these assembly areas have been identified. Then, we have divided these assembly areas in groups of 12 and the last one, of course, will be 13, just in order to make 49. We have already made reconnaissance of the first 12 assembly areas and we have started the second group of 12. We have started providing logistics to the first 12, and we could open the first ones end of this month or the beginning of next month. So, I think, things are proceeding not very fast but I am quite satisfied. [end recording]

### Renamo's Ululu on War, Movement's Goals

MB1402185593 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 7  
Feb 93 pp 8-11

[Interview with Vicente Ululu, Mozambique National Resistance secretary general, by reporters Jorge Matine, Albuquerque Freire, Moises Mabunda, and Armando Munguambe in Maputo; date not given]

[Text] "Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is going to win the elections. Renamo is not solely responsible for the death of over 1 million Mozambicans. 'Our' movement has not fought because of housing. Renamo controls 85 percent of the national territory."

These are some of the statements that the secretary general of Afonso Dhlakama's movement (he prefers to call it a party) made in an exclusive interview with DOMINGO. Speaking at a Maputo restaurant for two and a half hours, Vicente Zacarias Ululu did not raise his voice once despite some of the embarrassing questions we put to him. He spoke in detail about Renamo, the 15 year-old struggle the movement waged, its reasons, and the ideology of the group. He also spoke about the ongoing transition period, the difficulties in implementing the Rome accords, and his movement's strategy for the elections. That is not all. He reveals details about himself, how he left Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] in 1969 and joined Renamo in 1977. Obviously, he did not forget to violently attack Frelimo and the government.

And the Mozambican press...

[DOMINGO] Let us start with this question: What is Renamo?

[Ululu] Renamo is a political organization that had to take up arms and struggle because from the beginning, after independence, it was not possible to talk. Frelimo

introduced into the country a law that prohibited opposition. Everybody knows what happened afterward. Many of those who demanded multipartyism and democracy were decimated and eliminated. We were forced to take up arms against the regime in order to force it to the negotiating table and to accept the democracy we were fighting for. We have always believed that a state of democratic law could be established in Mozambique where justice and respect for human rights could be established, where a Mozambican could enjoy freedom of choice, movement and association, and where justice could prevail so that a Mozambican citizen could defend himself in a court of law whenever he was accused of committing a crime.

We have also fought against irregularities like when the Mozambican people were forced to live in communal villages. Mozambicans did not choose to live in communal villages. You are also aware that the economy was centralized and that the state nationalized people's property. Even makeshift houses situated in outlying areas were nationalized. All that made us take up arms and fight against the established regime.

Of course, we fought for many years during which neither Mozambican citizens nor the international community learned of our goals. We were regarded as mere bandits who had no political objectives, and who were only killing, maiming, and chopping off people's sexual organs. We were even called cannibals, wart hogs, and all sorts of names. As you know, the news media in the cities were always controlled by the government and the state. Journalists, Radio Mozambique, the Experimental Television, and newspapers disseminated the government's view of Renamo. The press has always been biased. So, we fought against all that...

[DOMINGO] There are those who say that while Renamo's cause might have been just—democracy, justice, freedom of expression and so on—the manner in which Renamo fought was not just. For instance, it has been claimed that if Renamo was fighting against the Frelimo government, why did it massacre defenseless people?

[Ululu] There are those who say that Renamo only killed civilians and that it had no goals. We did not expect Frelimo to talk nicely about us since we were fighting against them. As for those who believe that it was Renamo that killed civilians—I can deny that. I categorically deny that because we know of the atrocious activities carried out by Frelimo. It would not have made sense if we killed the people we wanted to liberate. We have people in our areas who have been liberated. They were never our target, and if the goal of our struggle was to kill civilians, then we would not have survived until now. The people who live with us are happy. So, when it is claimed that Renamo has only killed civilians, that is not true. It is propaganda...

[DOMINGO] Mr. Secretary General, that is a formal denial. The fact is that over 1 million Mozambicans have died. Do you have a concrete case or evidence that it was

government troops or any other force that killed civilians? For instance, talk about Homoine.

[Ululu] That is not true at all. I do not know how the international community can say that Renamo alone killed 1 million people. What about the people who were killed in Zimbabwean bombardments? We had a hard time in the bush. The Zimbabweans came and bombed many people. Why do they not say that the Zimbabweans and Tanzanians killed many people? I recall, for example, that when Zimbabwe intervened in 1985, they used to arrive in settlements whose residents were under our control. They moved boys and their fathers aside and then machine-gunned them. They only left the mothers alone. Why can the international community not talk about those deaths? Thousands upon thousands of people died....

[DOMINGO] Is it possible that the international community will only have trusted the government without objective on-site verification?... There were international figures who verified the matter!

[Ululu] You must be talking about the Gersony Report.... Gersony arrived here in Maputo and gathered government data. We know about it. Look at the massacre of Homoine: Witnesses among the people say the attackers were well dressed, that they arrived and started killing the people. Where would Renamo find well-dressed people? Renamo never had good uniforms. Yet, those people were wearing good clothes. That is not all, though. Immediately after the massacre, we started being asked: "How did Renamo penetrate, so it could massacre people?" Our answer was: "We are not aware of any such operation." All of our operations were ordered by the chief of General Staff's Central Office in Gorongosa. It was there that we studied and planned the operations our units would subsequently carry out. There was no group whose sole mission was to go about killing people. That is why we are unaware of such a massacre. Moreover, our president, who was in Gorongosa at the time, sent a message to the United Nations inviting President Chissano to present evidence. We also called on the international community to conduct an inquiry so as to establish who had carried out the massacre. President Chissano was thus....

[DOMINGO] There is something here I am not clear about. You have said Renamo had central control, that no operation was carried out without the knowledge of the Central Command. That would mean Renamo was a well organized movement, which is in contrast with what you have just said about Renamo soldiers not having good uniforms....

[Ululu] It does not follow that, because you may well prepared, that you may be able to control your forces from a distance, and that you are well organized, you should also have your forces wearing good uniforms. An army may be extremely well equipped and attired but, if there is no command to control it, it will do as it pleases. We had no means of obtaining uniforms, so our soldiers

did not have uniforms. They had no boots, either. Nonetheless, we had a command. We captured our weapons. We gave orders for a Frelimo barracks to be attacked. Our forces would attack it and occupy it, which explains why Renamo has its own liberated areas. Our men would attack in line with our plans and orders. It was for that reason that our president ordered our forces to stop attacking the Beira and Limpopo Corridors, once the relevant accord had been signed. Nevertheless, it happened once that the president stated he would attack the Limpopo Corridor because Frelimo was not complying with what had been agreed on. We attacked it for a month or two, then he ordered the attacks to stop and there were no more attacks. Yet another example comes from Nacala Corridor. In 1989, he said that corridor must not be attacked, that it must serve the peoples of the hinterland, even the Zimbabweans who were decimating our people. That corridor was not attacked by Renamo. It was attacked by Frelimo, which would then turn around and say that Renamo had done it. The Beira Corridor is a very good example: It has not been attacked since we signed the accords. Two hours prior to the signing of the General Peace Accord, President Dhlakama told all his troops from Rovuma River to Maputo River: "The war is over. The General Peace Accord is to be signed within the next two hours." All attacks stopped. The accord was signed. President Dhlakama stated before the international community that we would abide by the accord we had signed and that, as of that day, we would not launch any more attacks. That is what we promised and that is what we have delivered: There have been no more attacks. Obviously, there have been many violations, but those are Frelimo's violations. As I have already said, this is the Media Center. The media trusts everything the government puts out. Perhaps now Renamo can enjoy some favorable reporting, but at that time no one believed in Renamo. We have witnessed many incidents since we signed the cease-fire accord, but we have never noticed that DOMINGO reported them....

[DOMINGO] Ours is not a newspaper which reports what happened the previous day. We are a weekly newspaper!

[Ululu] What do you have in a week? You have a collection of all the events of that week.

[DOMINGO] Excuse me: You claim that the media reported what the government said. Do you not accept that newsmen may have reported, and report now, things of their own accord?

[Ululu] I accept that. In fact, that is one of the things we fought for. It is even stated in Protocol 3, which we signed, that the freedom to form independent newspapers must be respected. We insisted on that and Frelimo signed it.

[DOMINGO] What perhaps you do not know is that we in DOMINGO have never received any guidelines from the state....

[Ululu] It is not that you receive guidelines. You may never have received guidelines, but you have always been controlled by the state, by the People's National Security Service [Snasp], which is now known as the State Information and Security Service [SISE].

[DOMINGO] But we have no Snasp element at the editorial desk....

[Ululu] I am not saying there is a Snasp element who censors your writing. Your articles may have good intention, Mozambicans may have good intention, but Snasp has always been behind your back. You have never said anything against the Government, even when you had evidence.

[DOMINGO] No, that is not our philosophy. We have our own work guidelines. The truth, however, is that, after the accord, there were problems in Angoche, Lugela...and according to reports, there was already a concentration of forces in these areas before the signing of the accord.

[Ululu] When we signed the accord, Frelimo occupied Renamo's positions. After signing the accord, President Chissano returned to Mozambique and gave orders to occupy Renamo positions. The objective was to convince people that Renamo does not have any area under its control. When 25 positions were occupied, President Dhlakama sent a message to President Chissano, through our representative here in Maputo. Our representative explained what had happened and asked: "How is it that after signing a peace accord, government forces are occupying Renamo-controlled positions?" President Chissano answered: "Well! That is true, but let us keep it to ourselves. Let us deal with this issue as brothers, the way we dealt with the peace accord. This information should not be published by the press...."

[DOMINGO] You are saying that President Chissano admitted....

[Ululu] He admitted, and our representative told him that government forces should be withdrawn. President Chissano said "Yes, we shall see to it".... but he did not withdraw the forces. On various occasions, we requested President Chissano to withdraw his forces but he did not do it. We did not want to retaliate, but to demonstrate that we do not want another war in the country, we occupied four positions: Angoche, Maganja da Costa, Memba, and Lugela. There was an outcry here in Maputo. As I have already said Maputo is the headquarters of the news media and a Renamo ant hill is transformed into a mountain. Everyone believed the media reports. When Frelimo forces entered Nampula, at a place which I do not remember now, they said Renamo had massacred 4,000 people. A delegation from the international community visited the area to investigate, it found no evidence. Later, the media reduced the figure, then said there were no deaths. Anything by Renamo is dramatized.



[DOMINGO] A lot has been said about Renamo's external wing.

[Ululu] It was Frelimo which spread these reports just to denigrate Renamo. We were a movement of Mozambicans, trained by Mozambicans. Now about whites...one has to understand Mozambique's situation. Mozambique has been receiving Portuguese people for centuries. Imagine the Portuguese who have been here for generations, since 1400. Do you think these people have any place in Portugal? They are Mozambicans. If we had whites or have whites in Renamo, it does not mean that Renamo belongs to whites.

[DOMINGO] Renamo's policy, however, has always been the same right from the beginning, since Matsangaissa's time?

[Ululu] It has always been the same. Our statutes clearly say this. Renamo welcomes all Mozambicans regardless of race, region, and tribe. All Mozambicans can be Renamo members. This is what is advanced in our statutes.

[DOMINGO] The peace accord signed four months ago is not being fully implemented. Will this not endanger peace?

[Ululu] Well, the delay is mainly technical. Renamo is not to blame for the delay. We do not think it will endanger peace, as long as we Mozambicans from both Renamo and Frelimo are faithful to the Rome peace accords. If we are faithful to the accords, I do not see any danger. All the same, we would like to see the process move faster. As a matter of fact, the party that is most interested in establishing democracy in the country is Renamo, which fought for it and won it. Renamo would like to see the process move faster so that we can achieve our final objective, which is general elections.

[DOMINGO] Mr. Ululu, you have been in Maputo for about two months now. How do people react when they see you?

[Ululu] They react positively.

[DOMINGO] Do people ever look, speak or act violent?

[Ululu] Face-to-face, not yet. What we have noted is that SISE is harassing our members.

[DOMINGO] Do you have concrete evidence?

[Ululu] Just here in the streets of Maputo, one of our sympathizers was beaten until he lost his teeth. This was one of the issues that I raised during my meeting with President Chissano. I told him that we did not feel safe

here, that we are being persecuted. Our protocols state clearly that from the signing of the cease-fire, Renamo ceases to be an armed movement and limits itself to exercising political activities. Accordingly, we do not understand why our members are being persecuted.

[DOMINGO] The much talked about statement made by the leader of the Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party about President Dhlakama did not create bad feelings within Renamo?

[Ululu] It did not create any bad feelings. For us, the statement made by Domingos Arouca was made by a Mozambican citizen. He said what was on his mind. Since we fought for democracy and freedom of speech in this country, Domingos Arouca is free to express himself as a Mozambican citizen. Whether or not President Dhlakama possesses the qualities needed to become the president of Mozambique, this has nothing to do with Domingos Arouca. By the way, it is not Domingos Arouca's vote that will make Dhlakama win or lose the elections. It is the Mozambican people's vote. He made that statement as a free citizen. What he should recognize, however, is that this freedom of speech that he has to express himself was fought for and won by Dhlakama.

#### **Renamo Holds First Political Rally in Chimoio**

*MB1502103293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] held its first rally in Chimoio today. It has been estimated that 7,000 people attended the rally. Speaking on the occasion, Jose Carvalho, Renamo's secretary for Manica Province, condemned various aspects of the Mozambique Liberation Front party policy, namely the reeducation camps, internal travel documents, and communal villages.

[Begin Carvalho recording] Let us talk about communal villages. The Marxist system could not control the people who lived scattered in their home areas and who had their farms in fertile land, good houses, and livestock. They knew that the people opposed the Marxist system. So, what did they decide to do? They took people to communal villages where one could not produce anything and where there was no water, even to wash. What did they do in communal villages? They surrounded communal villages with militia and appointed activist groups to run them. [applause]

Do you know why they created communal villages? I could give you the example of chickens. Which is easier to catch: A chicken that is free to roam or one that lives in a coop? The latter is easier to catch. [end recording]

## Liberia

### NPFL Warns ECOMOG Against Attacking 'Greater Liberia'

AB1202160593 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English  
1900 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] The Defense Ministry in Gbarnga has warned that if ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] does not stop its aggression on Greater Liberia, the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] could get aggressive and put them back into Monrovia. The Defense Ministry said the rampant fire burning in the Firestone rubber plantation is the result of the firing of ECOMOG artillery and long-range missiles on NPFL positions in the Harbel area.

The defense minister, Tom Woewiyu, speaking in a foreign media interview recently, said as part of ECOMOG's scorch and burn policy, ECOMOG is taking advantage of the dry season to drop cluster bombs and launch deadly weapons like the 40-barrel [as heard] missile to set ablaze the Firestone rubber plantation.

Mr. Woewiyu denied allegations that Robertsfield is under the control of ECOMOG and registered that ECOMOG's attempt to invade the Robertsfield area has nothing to add to the peace efforts in Liberia. He said this unprecedented method by a group calling itself peacekeepers could only lead to the prolongation of the war in Liberia instead of providing the forum needed to initiate dialogue among the Liberian warring factions.

### ECOMOG Threatens To Retaliate for NPFL Attacks

AB1202201693 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], has warned that it will take on all legitimate military targets being used by the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] of rebel leader Charles Taylor to attack its positions. The warning, according to an ECOMOG release issued yesterday [11 February] and signed by the force's chief commander, Major General Adentunji Olurin, comes in the wake of Charles Taylor's decision to move his military machines to Nimba County to continue his senseless war.

ECOMOG is, therefore, calling on Nimba elders and citizens, especially those fighting alongside the NPFL, to distance themselves from this senseless and selfish action of Mr. Taylor, which is only in his favor and the small clique surrounding him. The force says it will not hesitate to take on all military targets in Nimba County to further dissuade Mr. Taylor of the military option.

ECOMOG says it will go to any length to fulfill the Yamoussoukro IV Accord entered into by all parties, including Charles Taylor, adding that it will take on any

opposition from any faction in the course of the fulfillment of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] mandate. Should Mr. Taylor extend the peaceful process to transition, the release said, ECOMOG will have no reason to fire a single bomb or bullet. The myth about Mr. Taylor, ECOMOG says, is broken and he cannot achieve his ambition of installing himself as president of Liberia through the use of force. ECOMOG says it stands ready to support a good cause from Nimba County and offers the people of that county adequate protection if they resort to peace rather than war. The force says it also stands to help restore peace and tranquility and to help the political process in Liberia.

### Information Ministry Urges Citizens 'Not To Panic'

AB1602102093 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English  
0700 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] The Ministry of Information in Gbarnga has urged inhabitants of Gbarnga not to panic over the announcement Sunday [14 February] evening, calling on individuals to leave the streets at 9 PM. In a release, the ministry said the exercise was part of government's regular security routine.

The NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] government has, meanwhile, assured the public that Gbarnga is calm and citizens should go about their normal business as the security network of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] is on full alert around the clock in defense of the sovereignty. [sentence as heard]

## Mali

### Court Finds Ex-President Traore, Former Ministers Guilty

AB1202140793 Paris AFP in French 1341 GMT  
12 Feb 93

[Text] Bamako, 12 Feb (AFP)—The death sentence was recommended for former Malian President Moussa Traore and his three codefendants, who were found guilty yesterday by the criminal court of Bamako, for the death of 106 people during the March 1991 riots in Bamako. The codefendants are the former ministers of defense, General Mamadou Coulibaly, former minister of the interior, Mr. Sekou Ly, and Colonel Ousmane Coulibaly, chief of the general staff of the Army. The four men were found guilty of "premeditated murder, battery, and voluntary manslaughter." Their trial began on 25 November 1992.

### Other Government Members Acquitted

AB1202161893 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1550 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The verdict in the trial for the bloody crime was handed down today, 12 February, after exactly two

months and 12 days of hearings. According to the verdict of the Court of Assizes, presided over by Maley Diakite, former President Moussa Traore and his three main co-defendants—Mamadou Coulibaly, Sekou Ly, and Ousmane Coulibaly—were sentenced to death. The 28 other members of the Central Executive Bureau and of the government—at the time the crime was committed—were found not guilty and acquitted.

#### **'Serious' Clash Occurs With Niger Troops**

*AB1102182693 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 11 Feb 93*

[Text] On 8 February at 1300 GMT, an unfortunate clash occurred between a Niger military patrol team and another from Mali in the (Finfin) area, inside Malian territory. The outcome of this incident is very serious:

On the Niger side six people were killed—including one captain. Two soldiers were taken prisoner by the Malian patrol team. One Toyota Landcruiser equipped with a machine gun and an important consignment of arms and ammunition were captured.

On the Malian side two people were injured, one of them seriously.

The two prisoners, as well as their vehicles, weapons, and ammunition, will be handed back to the Niger authorities by the Gao Region governor at Gao. Measures will be taken, as part of the policy of good neighborliness which Mali maintains with all its brotherly neighbors, so that no such incidents occur again in future.

#### **Tuareg Rebels Integrated Into Regular Army**

*AB1202164093 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 0700 GMT 12 Feb 93*

[Text] The rebellion, which was raging in the northern part of our country, is now a thing of the past, at least theoretically. The last stage of national reunion was sealed yesterday afternoon by the signing of the document which formalizes the integration of 600 soldiers of the United Front and Movement of the Azawad [MFUA] into the National Army. The signing ceremony was presided over by the minister of state for defense, Mr. Abdoulaye Sow, in the presence of representatives of the MFUA, the commissioner for the North, and the ambassador of Algeria.

### **Niger**

#### **Amadou Satisfied With Election Process**

*LD1402223493 Niamey Tele-Sahel Television Network in French 1940 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Text] The prime minister voted in the elections. After voting, Mr. Cheiffou Amadou insisted on voicing his feelings. Our reporter (Ousmene Al An Jibrai) recorded his remarks:

[Begin Cheiffou recording] We achieved the second great step after the [word indistinct] establishment of the democratic process in Niger, and in particular these elections which take place today and which will lead to the installation of the National Assembly are essential. As you know, in the constitution, the government and the prime minister rely on the National Assembly, and it is almost entirely up to the National Assembly to make sure that the country has a government. Thus this is an extremely important, a capital stage.

I and most of my colleagues in the government are personally pleased with the way we were able to organize these elections despite the obstacles, and frankly I feel satisfaction and pride. Perhaps the people of Niger will be able to judge at its real value the government's efforts to organize these elections. A decisive, fundamental step in the development of the democratic process in Niger has been made, and this is the main thing. [end recording]

#### **Elections Said Calm Throughout Country**

*AB1402210093 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 14 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] Today, the news in our country is dominated by the legislative elections which took place in a calm climate throughout the national territory today. As envisaged, most of the about 4,625 polling stations closed at 1800 GMT. A little over 4 million voters went to the polls today to elect for a five-year term 83 people's representatives to the National Assembly from 12 of the 18 political groups officially recognized by the Ministry of Interior. In order to prevent any sort of disturbances during the elections, stringent security measures were taken, both in Niamey and in the interior of the country, and a curfew was imposed in some areas. [passage omitted]

How were the elections in the interior of the country? Here are some reports from our correspondents in Dosso and Tahoua. First, Dosso:

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] After visiting some polling stations in the Dosso area, we went to Loga. The voting was calm everywhere. Here and there, we discovered some organizational problems or problems with the voters themselves. One other particularity of this election is that contrary to the 26 December referendum, women came out in large numbers this time to vote. [passage omitted] No incidents were reported in Dosso. Voting took place normally. By 1800 GMT, some voting stations had stopped registering voters because almost everybody had finished voting and no more voters were arriving. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Begin unidentified correspondent from Tahoua recording] The legislative elections, which began in a climate of calm and discipline this morning, continued normally throughout Tahoua. These elections were a great improvement over the last time because the difficulties which did arise did not come from the elections



themselves as [words indistinct] to the surprise and satisfaction of, there were no clashes or major disturbances. This really comforted Supreme Court members, reporters, foreign observers, and observers from Niger. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Right now, we are waiting impatiently for the results. Counting will take place throughout the night under the vigilant supervision of political party officials, political party representatives, members of the Supreme Court, and international observers. [passage omitted]

### **Cabinet Considers National Situation, Rebel Attacks**

*AB1502203593 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 0530 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Excerpt] The Cabinet held its weekly meeting today under the chairmanship of the head of government. As usual, the Cabinet examined a number of points concerning the nation. Here is a report by Albert Wright, government spokesman:

[Begin recording] 1. Concerning the financial situation, the extension of the transitional period continues to be marked by a social unrest, whose consequences are having an increasingly bad effect on the normal functioning of our economic and financial system. Public finance weakens as political activities gain intensity. These activities have considerably demobilized our administration, reduced weekly revenue, and made it more difficult to achieve the priority objectives set by the government for ending the transitional period. These priority objectives are as follows: pay November salaries; make provisions for necessary expenditures on security and defense; guarantee a term of students' scholarships, beginning with students living abroad; provide the means to reopen the university; and provide salaries for two months.

It is important to stress that each day of a strike or social unrest in our country causes the loss of tens and even hundreds of millions of CFA francs in revenue. This can only worsen the delay in paying salaries and scholarships. Therefore, there is a need to restore social peace so that the government can successfully tackle the major problems facing our country at this end of the transition.

2. On the security situation: The major event in the week was the violent and barbaric attack by the Air and Azawad Liberation Front [FLAA] on the peaceful people of the Tassara Region. This attack was blindly aimed at civilians, women, and children of the villages of Azenak where 10 people were killed; Albadaya, where seven persons died; and (Akarasha), where 13 persons were killed. The 100 FLAA attackers—because it is doubtless an expedition masterminded by the FLAA troops, despite the statement that they have just sent us to deny the attack in order to deceive public and international opinion—one hundred assailants, I say, arrived in 10 land rovers, of which three were equipped with heavy artillery, with no other intention than to spread terror

and desolation. This is not the first attack of this nature in the same region and always on civilians, notably Arabs. It appears clearly through this new act of barbarism that, contrary to its many statements, and I quote the FLAA's Communique No. 1 issued on 5 January 1992, its promise that no civilian will be disturbed by its struggle, no civilian will be killed or deprived of his property, that during the year following this statement, there were over 50 attacks on peaceful citizens, [words indistinct], forest guards responsible for protecting areas classified as areas of humanity, like the sites of Air, Tenere near [word indistinct]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### **Sierra Leone**

#### **State Secretary on Financial Assistance**

*AB1402185293 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 0700 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Text] The secretary of state, finance, development, and economic planning, Dr. John Karimu, has said disbursement of financial assistance to support Sierra Leone's Structural Adjustment Program, SAP, began in April 1992, following approval by the executive board of the IMF of the rights accumulation program and will continue until the end of February 1994.

Briefing the press on the Economic Recovery Program of the country under SAP at the Miata Conference Center, Dr. Karimu said early achievements of the program include a better control of government's expenditure through an improved central tender board system, revised agreements with SIEROMCO and Sierra Rutile to ensure greater benefits from extraction of bauxite and rutile, and a marked increase in the proportion of diamond trade carried out legally.

The secretary of state, finance, said most of the assistance to Sierra Leone are in the form of grants or loans on favorable terms, as interest rates are fixed at less than one percent, and payment periods of 40 years or more with a grace period of 10 years.

He said the major areas of assistance involve balance of payments support to help meet the country's foreign exchange requirements related to trade and debt repayments, with the World Bank providing a reconstruction inputs credit of \$43 million and the African Development Bank [ADB] providing \$25 million to pay for the cost imported petroleum products, printing of bank notes, and imported raw materials and spare parts.

Dr. Karimu said the other areas of assistance involve a public sector management support project with a total of \$10 million from the World Bank and a counterpart contribution of \$1.5 million from government to strengthen the management and analytical capacity of government, as well as a comprehensive medium-term public investment program to revitalize the economy and raise the living standards of the vulnerable groups.

He said the public investment program will be a big program with funds for the first three years estimated at \$460 million to cover priority areas like poverty alleviation and provision of basic social services, as well as the physical rehabilitation and development of roads, electricity, water and sanitation, health and primary education facilities.

The secretary of state, finance, said under the poverty alleviation category of expenditures, the ADB would support a program of social action and poverty alleviation with a loan of \$7.5 million on health services, primary and vocational education, (?skill) and employment development, and the provisions of equipment, inputs, and working capital for low-income households.

Answering questions from the press, Dr. Karimu said government spends on average between 600 to 800 million leones monthly on the war and support to our troops in ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group].

[Paris AFP in English at 2253 GMT on 12 February in a Freetown-atelined item adds the following: "The official disclosed that the inflation rate has been brought down from 115 percent in 1991 to an average of 35 percent at the end of 1992. Karimu said that there is an ongoing dialogue between Sierra Leone and Britain on lifting Britain's decision to suspend aid to the West African state as a result of the December executions of 26 people."]

## Togo

### Prime Minister Announces New 'Crisis Government'

AB1202195593 Lome Radio Lome in French  
1900 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Announcement of the new Togolese Cabinet, read by Tettey Atikossi, press attache at the office of the prime minister—live]

[Text] This is the composition of the new government. It is a crisis government:

President of the Republic:	General Gnassingbe Eyadema
Prime Minister:	Koffigoh, Kokou Joseph
Minister of National Defense:	Bouraima, Inoussa Traore
Minister of Economy and Finance:	Fianyo, Doh Franck
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation:	Natchaba, Fambare Ouattara
Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice, in charge of relations with the High Council of the Republic:	Polo, Aregba
Minister of Territorial Administration and Security:	Agbodjan, Combevi Georges

Minister of Industry and State Companies:	Boukpassi, Payadowna
Minister of Youth, Sport, and Leisure:	Lawani, Essohanam Gregoire
Minister of Social Welfare, National Solidarity, and Human Rights:	Gazaro, Were Regine
Minister of Public Health and Population:	Kudzo, Agbenosevi Michel
Minister of Equipment and Mines:	Atipko, Yaou Tete Mawunsey Samuel
Minister of Communication and Culture:	Agbeka, Komlan Mensah Benjamin
Minister of Planning and Territorial Development:	Yentchabre, Yandja
Minister of National Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Technical Education and Professional Training:	Baba, Bamouni Somolou Stanislas
Minister of Rural Development and Environment and Tourism:	Nomedji, Kossi Nicholas
Minister of Commerce and Transport:	de Fanti, Kweku Mensah David
Minister of Employment, Labor, and Civil Service:	Dovi, Garba Joachim
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Security, in charge of Elections:	Boukari, Tabiou

## HCR Member Comments

AB1202204093 Paris AFP in English 2019 GMT  
12 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Abidjan, Feb 12 (AFP) - A leading member of the Togolese opposition Friday [12 February] dismissed as a "swindle" an agreement signed by President Gnassingbe Eyadema and Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh the previous day laying down guidelines for a new administration.

Cornelius Aidam, a member of the High Council of the Republic, Togo's interim parliament, said that only a return to barracks by the Togolese army under international supervision could guarantee the army's neutrality.

The pledge by Eyadema and Koffigoh that the army would refrain from any further intervention in the country's political life was "deceitful and a swindle", Aidam said in a statement issued in Accra, in neighbouring Ghana. [passage omitted]

Supporters of General Eyadema, who has been in power for 26 years, have dismissed the demand as "violating Togo's sovereignty".

Eyadema and Koffigoh said Thursday that they had agreed on seven "basic principles" for the country's next administration, notably stipulating that "the army will keep to its barracks".

Their statement alluded obliquely to foreign involvement, saying that a "request for assistance from countries linked to Togo by defence agreements"—which would appear to mean France—was acceptable "in principle". [passage omitted]

### Decision Angers Opposition

AB1302155193 Paris AFP in English 1214 GMT  
13 Feb 93

[By Jean-Pierre Gallois]

[Excerpt] Abidjan, Feb 13 (AFP)—Togolese Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh's calls for "national reconciliation" have fallen on deaf ears with the opposition Saturday [13 February] branding him a "traitor" for accepting to form a new government under President Gnassingbe Eyadema.

Koffigoh's decision Friday to stay on at the head of an "emergency government" has angered the opposition which rejects all talk of compromise with Eyadema, a general who, with the help of the army, has ruled his west African country for 26 years. Koffigoh, originally appointed prime minister in 1991 by a national conference to oversee the period of transition to democracy, accepted to form the new government—the fourth since the start of the transition period—over the objections of the High Council of the Republic. The council is the interim parliamentary assembly which had already called on him to step down last month.

The new government includes 18 ministers—eight followers or close aides of Eyadema, three opposition members, one close aide to Koffigoh and six public figures considered to be independent or whose affiliation is not known.

"How can you sort out the problems of a changing country like ours if you don't accept political compromise?" he asked journalists in Lome Friday. "Political compromise in Togo is looked upon as a surrender of principles. I don't think it's by insulting people every day that one can solve the problems. The country must be governed otherwise it is bound for self-destruction," he said. "My differences with the opposition (...) is that I don't believe that one can solve problems by sending kids daily to face slaughter on the streets," he said, referring to recent anti-presidential student demonstrations, bloodily put down by pro-Eyadema soldiers.

He also defended his decision to stay on, saying that those who today attack him did nothing to help when he was "risking (his) life for them", a reference to a bloody attempt by pro-Eyadema soldiers to overthrow his government in December 1991 when 17 of his guards were killed.

Since Koffigoh took over government, attempted to introduce democratic reforms and reduce Eyadema's powers, the army has done its best to reverse the process

bringing about a political crisis, which many diplomatic observers believe could spell civil war.

Already about 100 people have been killed in just over a year, the economy is near collapse as a general strike called by the opposition entered its 90th day on Saturday and hundreds of thousands of people have fled Lome for the countryside and neighbouring Ghana and Benin.

Presidential aides, who for some months have been planning the Eyadema-Koffigoh "ticket", said the new government would strive to end the strike, organize a "day of reconciliation" at which the military would "solemnly reaffirm its neutrality towards the political parties", and prepare for free, democratic elections to be held in the near future.

Koffigoh accused the opposition of plotting against him and he did not even bother mentioning the High Council of the Republic, whose existence is also being ignored by the president. [passage omitted]

### HCR Declares Government 'Illegal'

AB1302190993 Paris AFP in English 1855 GMT  
13 Feb 93

[Text] Lome, Feb 13 (AFP) - Togo's transitional parliament, the High Council of the Republic (HCR), on Saturday [13 February] declared the emergency government formed by Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh illegal and urged the international community not to recognise it.

The council, which is dominated by the opposition, said Koffigoh had, in forming the government Friday, carried out a "constitutional coup d'etat."

The HCR stand came in a statement read out by a spokesman for the HCR chairman, Lome archbishop Philippe Kpodzro, to foreign ambassadors in the capital.

### COD-II Calls Koffigoh 'Obstacle'

AB1302213493 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema today paid tribute to Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, who divulged the composition of his government yesterday. A national union government had been expected, but the prime minister formed a crisis government in which several posts were retained by followers of the head of state. [passage omitted]

Concerning the crisis government formed yesterday, the Collective of Democratic Opposition-II [COD-II] discounts it. COD-II is not represented in the government. Here is an explanation by the current COD-II chairman, Leopold Gnininvi, who was interviewed in Paris by Mohamed Iesoufu.

[Begin recording] [Gnininvi] Joseph Kokou Koffigoh has been attacked before. He was deeply affected by the attacks on 1 October, 8 October, and 3 December.



Today, I do not know if we can hold Mr. Koffigoh responsible for the statements he has been making because of the pressure being exerted on him. But, given what he has said, from now on, we in COD-II, consider him to be an obstacle to the ongoing democratization process in Togo. This is why COD has informed him now that it can no longer support him in the formation of a new government.

[Iesoufou] What is the solution to Togo's present crisis?

[Gnininvi] The first problem is the insecurity created and nurtured by the president of the former regime in order to block the process and to make organizing elections meaningless. It is therefore necessary, first, to solve the insecurity problem. As you know, these days, this insecurity has been marked by numerous massacres and now by the massive exodus of people to countries in the subregion. We think it is necessary to reassure the people very quickly, to restore security, and to make the refugees return home. Otherwise, this exodus is a potential source of destabilization in the subregion. [end recording]

As you have just heard, the Togolese prime minister, who has been congratulated by the head of state, was denied the support of his friends of yesterday, who said they cannot recognize him as their prime minister. Joseph Kokou Koffigoh deplores this misunderstanding. And as he disclosed to Olabire da Cruz, he maintains that his legitimacy is from the people and the national conference. Listen to him:

[Begin Koffigoh recording] I became prime minister following an election at the national conference and I have noticed that my adversaries of yesterday are in the biggest hurry to see me leave. I am not surprised. They have forgotten the people, and through the process of mind poisoning, which was carefully orchestrated, and at the same time taking advantage of my silence, they have succeeded. But the question is: Is their success the success of the Togolese people? I say that they have destabilized the Togolese people. I would like to conclude by saying that it is never too late to fully take the path of the national conference. I am always ready for that. I am in the boat and have no interest in sinking it. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### **Koffigoh on Opposition Joining Government**

*LD1202150093 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 12 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] An arrangement has been made in Togo between President General Eyadema and Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh. In fact, they have reached agreement on seven basic principles for the operation of the new government, the composition of which will be announced this morning. [passage omitted]

The Togolese prime minister is thus taking the initiative with this government, in spite of the suspension of French cooperation yesterday, a gesture of disapproval

on the part of Paris with regard to the hindrances imposed, notably, by the close associates of President Eyadema at these negotiations. According to Maitre Koffigoh, this failure in Colmar was not inevitable.

[Begin recording] [Koffigoh] I believe that if the problem had been tackled differently the talks would have been successful. This is how we believe the Togolese problem should be approached: splits (?emerge as Togo undergoes changes) and this raises the problem of reconciliation. So if the problem of the Togolese questions in Colmar had been tackled from the point of view of reconciliation I believe that the other problems would have been resolved easily.

[Reporter] Will the opposition be part of this new government?

[Koffigoh] If it wishes.

#### **Koffigoh Outlines Tasks Facing New Government**

*LD1202150993 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 12 Feb 93*

[Text] To those who think that President Eyadema wanted to respond to French sanctions by forming a new government, this is the answer of the prime minister, Koffigoh: The formation of the new government was planned a long time ago. Joseph Kokou Koffigoh was interviewed by Monique Masse:

[Begin Koffigoh recording] The principle of reshuffling the government was agreed upon a long time ago. This was part of the demands made by the opposition. I myself negotiated with the president of the republic in November and December, and there was absolutely no doubt on this matter. One should not be surprised by the reshuffle of the government.

I would however like to emphasize the problems facing Togo and the objectives which should be achieved, because this is what really determines our action. I see four objectives: There is the reestablishment of peace, the resumption of the democratic process, the relaunching of economic activities, and national reconciliation. [end recording]

In France we have heard that President Eyadema received a letter of support from the former French President Valerie Giscard d'Estaing. It is a way for him to tone down the statements of his colleague in the opposition, Alain Madelin, who two weeks ago said that France should not be an emergency agency for dictators facing difficulties.

#### **Commentary on Prime Minister's News Conference**

*AB1402154793 Kara Radio Kara in French 1300 GMT 13 Feb 93*

[Togoyiwou Tedehou commentary]

[Text] The truth, nothing but the truth, will always triumph. This is what the head of state, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, has always taught us, and Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh gave us a tangible illustration of this in his 12 February news conference.

Who could believe it? Tired, embittered by libel, lies, insults, plots, and permanent betrayal by those who sign agreements in the morning only to denounce them that same evening, Mr. Koffigoh has chosen his camp: the camp of truth and all the Togolese people. Some people will say that this reawakening of lucidity and patriotism is too late. But in politics, especially in the peculiar case of Togo, it is never too late to speak the truth and preach reconciliation as the only means to end a crisis that has lasted too long.

But other very important questions are yet to be answered. Indeed, the question is how the Togolese people, who are so intelligent and learned, can have allowed themselves to be deceived for three years now by these lies and glaring contradictions. How could thinking young men sacrifice themselves for a cause that has never existed? One also wonders why civil servants agreed to reject their jobs and therefore their salaries to turn themselves into beggars for a French humanitarian aid which can only be heard about on the international radio. Why have thousands of Togolese left their homes in Lome for the pleasure of becoming exiles in Ghana or Benin, where they will face the dangers of living in tents, promiscuity, and an unhealthy climate and where they will be exposed to more illnesses and epidemics instead of deciding to obtain the abundant food promised by the liars of the Collective of Democratic Opposition-II [COD-II]? Why did international radio stations, which are nevertheless well informed, help COD-II by broadcasting lies that have reduced to a state of misery people who were so proud and prosperous yesterday? Why did Western countries, in contempt of Togo's independence and abiding by their policy of economic bleeding, chose the camp of lies as opposed to that of truth, the camp of extremism as opposed to dialogue, the camp of the minority as opposed to the overwhelming majority, and, especially, the camp of tribalism and vendetta as opposed to democracy? Why, in order to please two districts in Lome, did Paris suspend its aid to Togo in order to increase the already great suffering of millions of Togolese women and children who can never take refuge in Ghana for the simple reason that they are full-fledged Togolese citizens who have neither homes nor relatives in this neighboring country?

If all these whys can be explained by the ignorance of each and every one of the Togolese realities, the light has been shed by the prime minister and, henceforth, no one can benefit from any extenuating circumstances if he continues to plot against the Togolese people. Through these statements, the prime minister has vigorously cranked the engine to restart the Togolese democratic process and economic activities in our country. This is the task that the crisis government is going to settle down to, a government that is totally legal because it is in

conformity with the Togolese Constitution. The fact that it is not in conformity with the Constitution of this country or that country—something denounced by the excited COD-II members—is not the business of the Togolese people who trust only the Constitution they approved on 27 September 1992.

Mr. Koffigoh's news conference has the merit of having clearly identified the enemies of democracy in Togo. Henceforth, when it comes to choosing between an Eyadema open to pardon, dialogue, and preference for using polls for power, and an intransigent and revengeful COD-II partial to a the military conquest of power, the Togolese will know how to choose their democrats. The time of truth has come, and anyone who has the courage to listen to the truth after so many lies and to see the light after such a long moment of darkness must follow attentively, very attentively, this historic intervention by Kokou Joseph Koffigoh, who has for the first time become the prime minister of all the Togolese and not of COD-II and its two districts of Lome.

#### **COD-II Meets, Reviews Events in Paris 14 Feb**

*AB1502184193 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230  
GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Text] The crisis in Togo was the subject of a meeting yesterday in Paris. The meeting was organized by the Collective of Democratic Opposition-II, COD-II, in the French capital, where we find Mohamed Yessoufou Saliou:

[Begin Saliou recording] It is obvious from the various speakers that the roundtable failed because of the dishonesty of the pro-presidential group which, once again, wanted the (?talks to start on) the unavoidable question of security for opponents to the Eyadema regime. The specters of the Togolese head of state and his transition prime minister hovered over the meeting. This enabled the vice chairman of the High Council of the Republic of Togo [HCR], Francis Ekon, to review the weakening of the transitional legislative organ by General Eyadema, to recall the numerous concessions made to Eyadema, and to severely criticize the various intimidation and pressure strategies used by Eyadema to divide the opposition and persecute HCR members. In order to escape from the demon of division, participants pleaded for the cohesion within the COD-II. As their strategy aims at preventing Koffigoh's government from organizing the next presidential elections, leaders of COD-II asked their supporters to make the international community more aware of the situation in Togo and to be in solidarity with those who have sought refuge in Benin and Ghana. Also, they should never give up. Finally, we mention that COD-II says it is open for dialogue despite this war logic. [end recording]

**Workers March in Support of Government**

*AB1502172493 Lome Radio Lome in French  
1230 GMT 15 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] Following the appeal made by the president of the Republic for the resumption of work on 15 February, workers who are members of the National Consultative Committee for the Resumption of Work staged a peaceful march this morning in Lome. Starting from the Luminous fountain, the demonstrators marched to the Ministry of Employment, Labor, and Civil Service, where they read a motion addressed to the crisis government. The motion was presented by the chairman of the National Consultative Committee for the Resumption of Work, Mr. Kokou Tozoune. Here he is:

[Begin Tozoune recording] Workers' motion addressed to the crisis government. We, workers of various political leanings, belonging to a National Consultative Committee for the Resumption of Work, considering the socioeconomic disaster caused by three months of a criminal strike action; considering the highly delicate situation into which the national institutions have been plunged, and considering the state of chronic begging to which Togolese workers from all sectors have been reduced, declare the following:

Since the formation of a crisis government is a precondition for the resumption of work, we very sincerely congratulate the president of the Republic and the prime

minister on their high sense of patriotism. At the same time, we support the crisis government that has been set up, its principle, and composition. We request that the government take all necessary measures to guarantee the security of workers everywhere and to make an assessment of the social and economic effects of this political strike as soon as possible.

We suggest that the minister of employment, labor, and civil service issue a statement calling for workers to fully resume work while allowing a grace period for late comers who will be dismissed at the expiration of the deadline. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Responding to the motion, the principal private secretary at the Ministry of Employment, Labor, and Civil Service, Mr. (Mabalo Dikilwe), thanked them for organizing a march before the effective resumption of work. He said there is work in Togo and men are needed to work. He hinted that he had taken due note of the motion and will faithfully transmit it to the competent authorities. [passage omitted] He appealed to Togolese who have fled the country to return home. [passage omitted]

In the commercial center, some shops, stores and kiosks were open to the public. We hope several other workers will take the cue from those who resumed work this morning in the coming days.



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